

# INDIAN NOTES & MONOGRAPHS

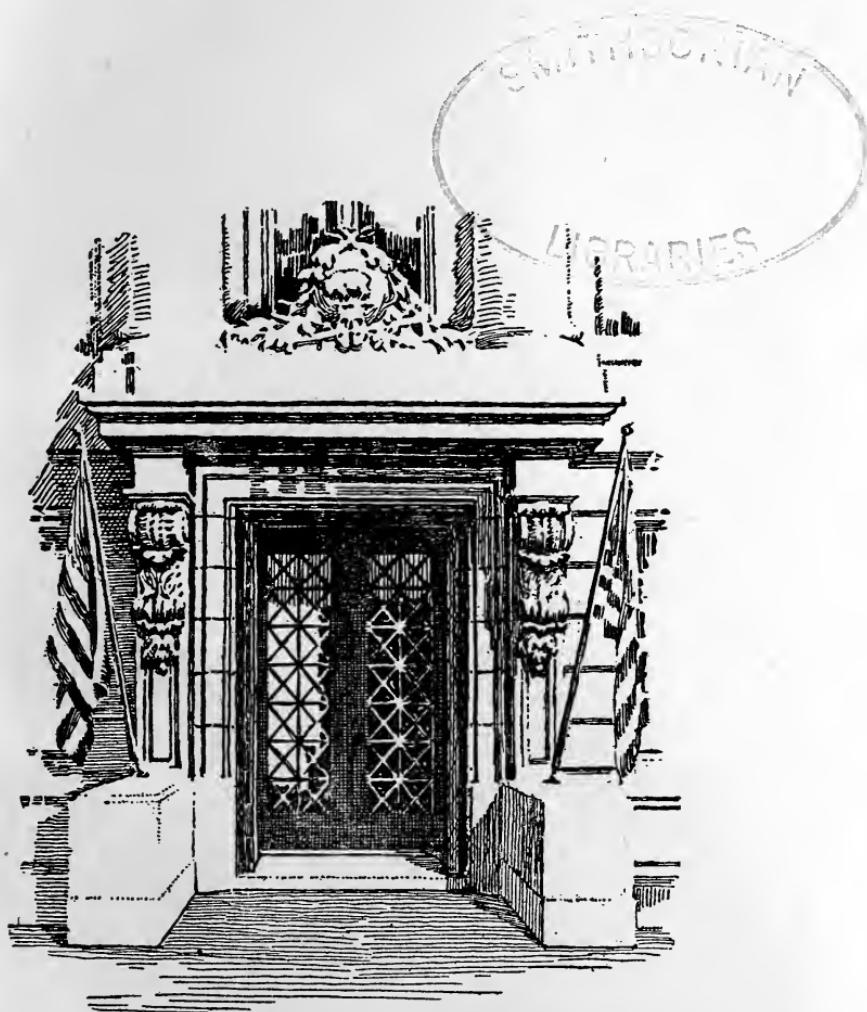


VOLUME IV

## INDIAN NOTES

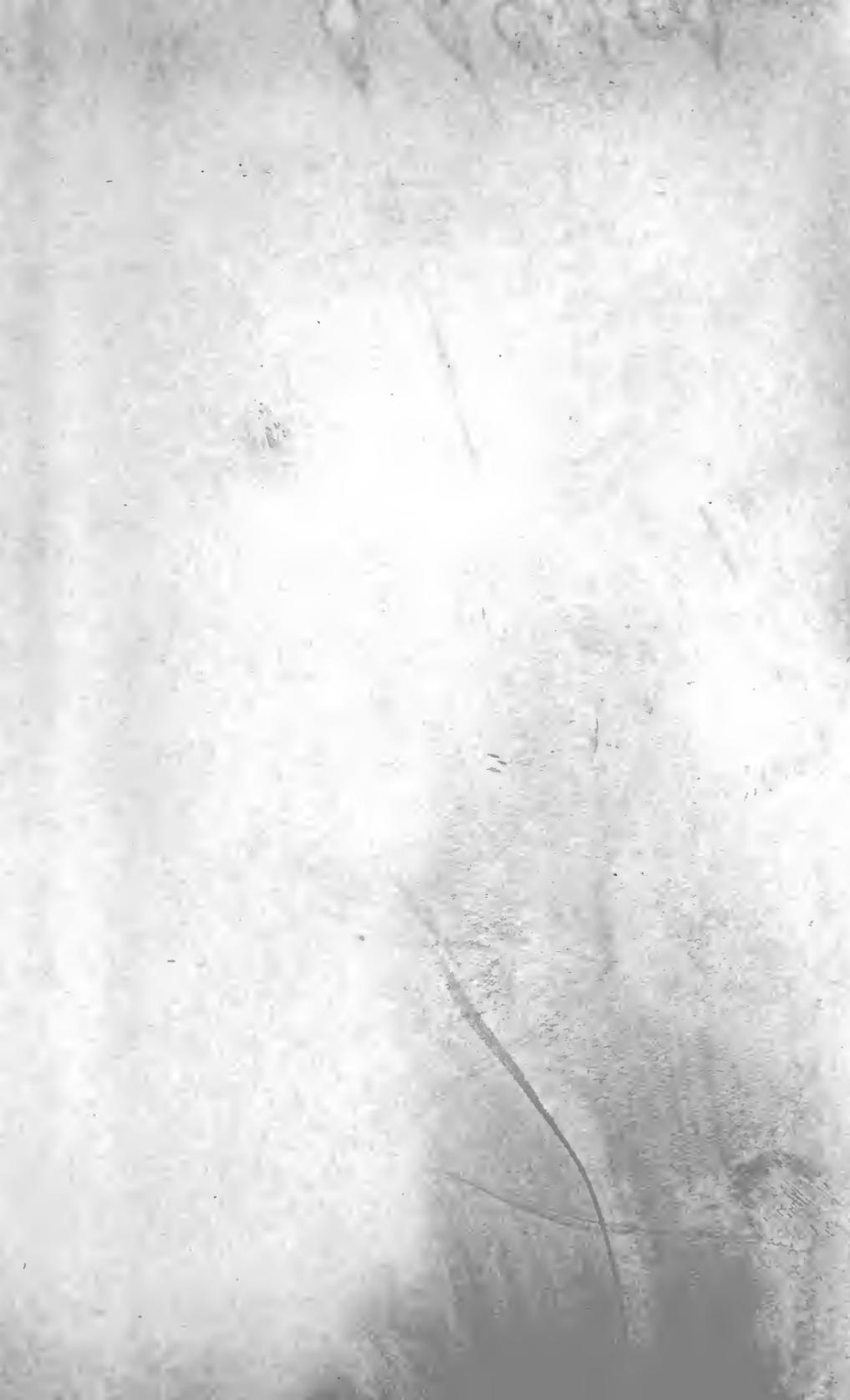


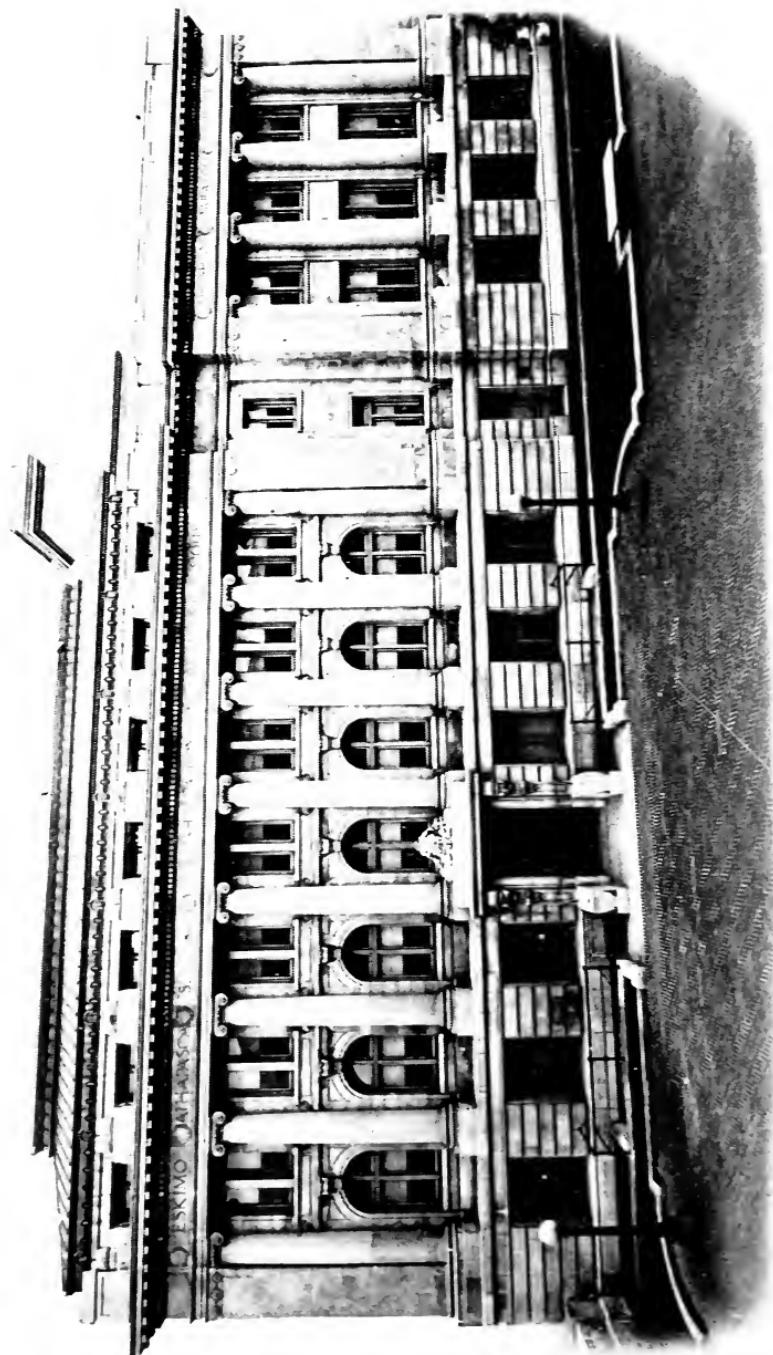
AND MONOGRAPHS



HEY FOUNDATION







MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN. HEYE FOUNDATION

# INDIAN NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

VOL.

IV



A SERIES OF PUBLICA-  
TIONS RELATING TO THE  
AMERICAN ABORIGINES

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MEDICINE CEREMONY OF THE  
MENOMINI, IOWA, AND WAHPETON  
DAKOTA, WITH NOTES ON THE CERE-  
MONY AMONG THE PONCA, BUNGI  
OJIBWA, AND POTAWATOMI

BY  
ALANSON SKINNER

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THIS series of INDIAN NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS is devoted primarily to the publication of the results of studies by members of the staff of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, and is uniform with HISPANIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS, published by the Hispanic Society of America, with which organization this Museum is in cordial coöperation.

MEDICINE CEREMONY OF THE  
MENOMINI, IOWA, AND WAH-  
PETON DAKOTA, WITH NOTES  
ON THE CEREMONY AMONG  
THE PONCA, BUNGI OJIBWA,  
AND POTAWATOMI INDIANS

BY

ALANSON B. SKINNER



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## PREFACE

HE ceremony commonly known as the Medicine Dance was once widely practised among the central Algonkian and southern Siouan tribes, which occupied approximately the upper and middle Mississippi valley. The rite extended northward almost to the shores of Hudson bay, thence westward nearly to the foothills of the Rockies, where it was carried by the Plains Cree and the Ojibwa. On the great plains the ceremony was not performed by the tribes of true prairie culture, among which the Sun Dance was paramount. East of the Mississippi it died out more gradually as an organization, but the individual properties and characteristics of the shamans continued long beyond the boundaries of the cult itself.

Today the ceremony still survives among some of the Algonkian tribes, being actively practised by the Menomini, Ojibwa, Potawatomi, and Sauk. It is nearly if not quite extinct among the Cree. Among the Siouan tribes, some bands of Winnebago in Wisconsin and Nebraska, and the Eastern Dakota refugees near Portage La Prairie, Manitoba, perform the rites. An Omaha mixed-blood once informed the writer that his people still kept up the ceremony, but among the Ponca, Iowa, and Oto, it is a thing of the past.

While the ceremony early attracted the attention of explorers and ethnologists, its esoteric nature has long rendered it almost impossible to obtain detailed or coherent data; indeed it is only recently that the introduction of the so-called "Peyote religion" has caused members of certain of the tribes in question to relax the rigidity of the rules of secrecy. Various vague articles by Schoolcraft, and Hoffman's excellent monograph have been the means of making

known the forms of the rites as practised by certain bands of the Ojibwa, and Hoffman has left us also a good objective study of the Menomini ceremony, though nothing of its ritual. Recently Dr Radin has described the Winnebago form in brief compass,<sup>1</sup> and Miss Fletcher and Mr La Flesche have well treated the Omaha side of the subject.<sup>2</sup> The present account gives the hitherto unknown Menomini origin myths and ritual, the story and ritual of the Iowa lodge in full, with additional data on the ceremony as practised by the Wahpeton Dakota, Ponca, and Bungi division of the Plains Ojibwa.

At least three types of the ceremony once existed:

1. The Dakotan type, once practised by the Wahpeton Dakota, Iowa, Winnebago, and Oto.
2. The Omaha type, as practised by the Omaha and Ponca.
3. The Algonkian type, as practised by the Menomini, Ojibwa, Potawatomi, and perhaps by the Cree and Sauk,

although data on the last two tribes are deficient.

The society seems to be of Algonkian, and presumably of Ojibwa, origin, because:

1. Even among the Siouan Iowa, Winnebago, and Wahpeton Dakota, Algonkian songs persist.
2. The Wahpeton Dakota assert that they obtained the ceremony from the Sauk.
3. The relatively higher development of the degrees and origin myth among the Algonkian, particularly the Ojibwa.
4. The other Algonkian tribes, for example the Menomini, Potawatomi, and Cree, regard the Ojibwa as the great authority on the ritual, and employ many songs and formulas in their tongue.

Information is lacking as to the bridge by which the society came to the Siouan from the Algonkian tribes. Perhaps this was through the Sauk, as Wahpeton Dakota traditions inform us. It is, how-

ever, quite possible that visiting Siouan Indians, having witnessed the public performances of the rites, instituted them as best they could, and, adapting them to tribal standards, introduced them among their own people. If this be the case, it would account for many discrepancies, such as the difference in form of the origin myth, otherwise difficult to understand, had there been an actual interchange or purchase between the shamans of one tribe and another. The present paper claims to be nothing more than a presentation of the rituals of several of the tribes which still enact the rites of the lodge, and does not pretend to be a study of the organization and its rites. Indeed, no comparative work will be possible until ritualistic data are available for the Ojibwa, among whom, as has been demonstrated, it is likely that the society originated. Material is also lacking from the Potawatomi, Sauk, and Oto, and, to a lesser extent, the Winnebago.

These data have been gathered in the course of ten years' research among the

tribes noted, conducted under the auspices of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, and the American Museum of Natural History. With each ritual is given a summary designed to assist the reader in the study of those points considered as fundamental by the Indians, and which are often obscured by the mass of detail that accompanies them.

The specimens used for illustration are, with few exceptions, in the collections of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. Those from the Iowa were gathered by Mr M. R. Harrington in Oklahoma, and those from the Menomini by the writer.

A. B. S.

## MEDICINE CEREMONY OF THE MENOMINI

### INTRODUCTION

O Menomini ceremonial organization has attracted as much attention from both students and laymen as the *Mitäwin*, or Medicine-lodge Society. As early as 1826 an account of it was written by Dr Edwin James,<sup>3</sup> and again in 1890 Dr W. J. Hoffman began an investigation of the society for the Bureau of American Ethnology, the results of which are embodied in a monograph entitled "The Menomini Indians," in its Fourteenth Annual Report. As this valuable paper has since formed the basis of our knowledge of the Menomini, it is perhaps best to discuss it briefly before presenting our own data.

Several of Hoffman's terms, which are

erroneous, have been perpetuated in literature. Chief among these are: "*mitäwit*," used by Hoffman to denote the society.<sup>4</sup> This is incorrect. The word *mitäwit* is sometimes used to denote a candidate for admission into the lodge; the society is called *mitäwin*; the ceremony of initiation, *mitäwiwin*; a full-fledged member is a *mitäo* (Hoffman, *mitäv*), and the building is *mitäw'ikomîk*.

Hoffman gives the concluding form for each speech in the lodge, which is properly "*Nikanûk, nikanûk, nikanûk*" ("My colleagues, my colleagues, my colleagues"), as "*Nikani, nikani, nikani, kane.*"<sup>5</sup> Of course, it must be remembered that Hoffman recorded all his notes in the lodge during the ceremonies, and the tumult and excitement must necessarily have been distracting. His use of the words *Masha Manido*,<sup>6</sup> which he places in the mouths of his informants, is doubtless an Ojibwa reminiscence. When the creator is referred to by the Menomini, the term *Mätc Häwätûk* is used. The

word "manitu" is not a Menomini expression at all.

The following data were obtained chiefly during the summer of 1913, from a priest of the Menomini *Mitäwin*. They were given the writer only after a promise that the identity of the narrator should never be revealed; for these rites are jealously guarded, and their revelation by a member, no matter how great his influence and authority, would inevitably result in an attempt at his murder, either through violence or by magic, by his fellows in the society.

The information was given at intervals in the old man's home, with every precaution to insure secrecy. Before each day's lesson, at each meal, and after every interruption, a tobacco sacrifice was offered and a prayer invoking the favor of all the gods was recited. Each meal was first consecrated to the powers before we ourselves ate, and at the proper places the shaman's sacred articles, his drum, rattles, medicine-bag, and medicines, were brought in, addressed, and

offered tobacco. The price paid to him for the first part was the value of a pony; for the rest, the cost of several blankets for each separate section. This method is that employed by Indian youths who wish to buy the teaching of Mä'näbus, and indeed we were joined at several of the conferences by my informant's son-in-law, who was also purchasing working knowledge from the same instructor. As it was taboo to reveal the rites to a white man, the writer was formally adopted by the old shaman, who made a special tobacco sacrifice to Mä'näbus and the gods, telling them that he had received the writer into his family as a nephew (a closer relationship than a son, to the Menomini mind), and thenceforth he referred to me as *ninäkwünä* ("my sister's son"), both during the instruction and at other times. Because the writer has received this information, he is considered an unaccepted *mitäo*; that is, he has done everything but purchase the actual initiation. In addition, the writer has attended several ceremonies of

the lodge, and has secured specimens and information from Cipikau, Ka'sikau, Nakuti, Ukimaws, Mary Corn, Jane Cipikau, Kopaias Weke, Kinesa, Peter Fish, and the late Thomas Hog and Pitwäs-kûm.

Unlike Hoffman's monograph, the following account is entirely subjective and is from the standpoint of one of the Indians recognized by his people as being highest in authority. It will be found to cover the omissions by Hoffman, though it has lacunæ of its own. No attempt has yet been made to gather the numerous songs which are a part of the ritual, partly because they are considered as separate by those entitled to dispose of them, and are highly valued. Moreover, they are difficult to record, because the informant invariably insists on singing them to the accompaniment of a drum or a rattle in accordance with the prescribed method, since it is believed that any infraction of the rules will anger the gods. The recording of the songs is also hampered by the insertion of a refrain of gib-

berish, which renders them unintelligible even to a native, unless he has previously heard and analyzed them. For instance, let us say the word *mitäw'ikomîk*, or medicine-lodge structure, is to be used in a song. To prolong the performance, to confuse all bystanders who are not members, to impress them with the wisdom of the priests, and to fill out the meter, it is developed as follows:

*Mitähe, he, he, mitähi, hi, hi,  
Mitäho, ho, ho, mitäha, ha, ha, ha,  
Mitäwi hi, hi, hi, mitäwi, hi, hi, hi,  
Mitä, he, he, he, mitä, hi, hi, hi,  
Mitäw'ikomîk hi, mitäw'ikomîk ha,  
We ho, ho, ho, ho.*<sup>7</sup>

This is continued with each word, and often with each syllable. By means of a phonograph these songs could be gathered and a very interesting study might well develop. The few songs given are not written as they were sung, but as Mr John V. Satterlee was able to segregate the words from the meaningless vocables with which they are shrouded. This he was able to do only with some of the more

simple songs, and, while the presiding shaman rendered no direct aid, he was always willing to inform us when we were right or wrong.

Of course, the burden imposed on the Indian in gathering this knowledge is very great, for he must learn verbatim the songs, myths, and ritual, without written aid. (In a few cases birchbark or wooden mnemonic records are used, but they are by no means as common as among the Ojibwa. See pl. I.) He pays to be told once, and then pays more for repetitions. The average Indian finds it difficult to master the rites and all that pertains to them, though his memory is superior to that of the average white man who relies on written memoranda. Consequently the native youth comes again and again to his instructor, and a man or a woman desirous of becoming proficient and going through to the end of the teachings of Mä'näbus, is constantly subjected to an exhausting drain on his or her resources. The avarice of the shaman is insatiable, the more so since it is supported by re-

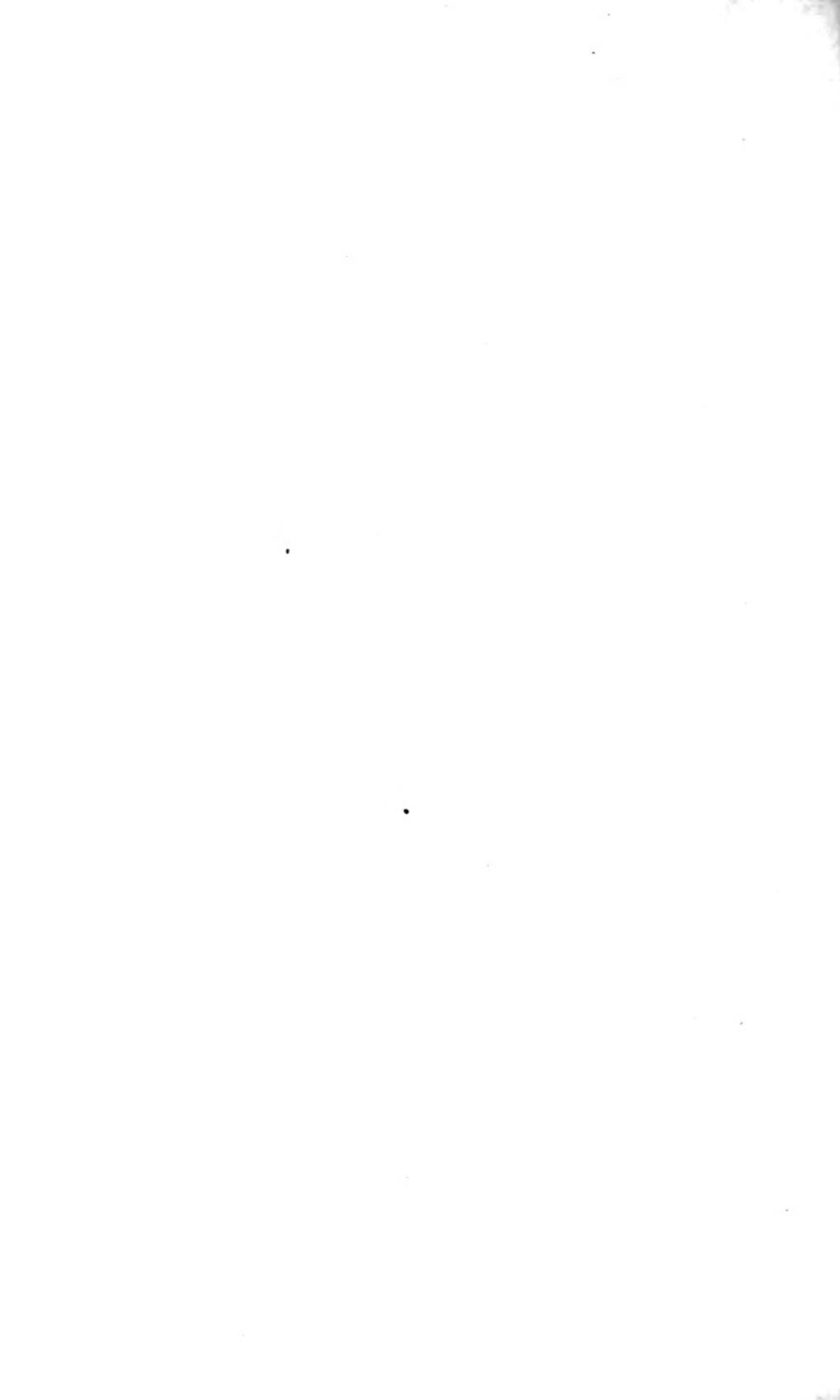
ligious tradition which asserts that the teachings of the gods will not be of service if not highly valued, hence horses, guns, blankets, dogs, food, in fact any kind of "good consideration" are spent to acquire the teachings. Once in the possession of this knowledge, the owner may sell it to others, but this is forbidden him until he "has seen his own white hairs." The benefits, therefore, of the medicine-lodge, from a pecuniary and physical standpoint, are long deferred.

The acknowledged intent of the society is to prolong human life, and to this end the lore of real herb, root, and magical medicines, as well as its special property, is zealously guarded. Every prescription is strictly proprietary. Even at the point of death a person may not have it without paying an exorbitant price, though he be a relative or a friend of the owner, and new discoveries and revelations are kept secret until purchased. The lodge also seeks, for a price, to see to the final settlement of the souls of the dead in their future abode, and the rela-



WOODEN SONG RECORDS OF MENOMINI MEDICINE CEREMONY, OBVERSE AND REVERSE

(Courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum)



tives pay well for ceremonies in behalf of the deceased.

The literal translation made by Mr Satterlee in the writer's presence has been retained, because of the instructor's insistence that the myth should always be given verbatim. To offset this, an analytical digest of the rites is appended to each account.

The ritual of the Menomini medicine-lodge is divided into four parts, the first of which is the dramatization of the initiation of the hero-god Mä'näbus, the ceremonies representing the first mythical performance of the rites. The leaders impersonate the great Gods Below and Above the novice Mä'näbus. The second part is the *Jebainoke* (or *Jebainoket*), the private funeral ceremony at which the soul of a deceased member is recalled from the hereafter, feasted, and dismissed forever, according to the command of Mä'näbus, the master. The third part is the *Uswinauamikäsko*, or Obliteration Ceremony, a public and more elaborate form of the *Jebainoke* held in

a medicine-lodge erected at or near the grave

SACRED MYTH OF THE ORIGIN OF THE  
MITÄWIN

The recitation of this myth was not commenced until the informant placed some tobacco on a piece of red cloth and offered the following prayer to all the gods:

*Mä'näbus kësewa mäkauwêñémikotcin, oséson*  
 Mä'näbus he has said we to remember him, his uncles  
*mecik onison asausêkasamôatuñ*  
 and his aunts that (it) should be sacrificed  
*nä'nimauwûn. Iní uskeseta usauénimi-*  
 tobacco. Where he had said that we should  
*seta' inu'ûp mauwau ûsauuputuñ*  
 continue they too all they too shall smoke (this)  
*nimäsomäsimauwûk. Ispämiû yom uspetáweki*  
 our grandfathers all. Above those in tiers  
*mecik mauwau ûnamûkumik. Okemáuwûk*  
 and all those who are below. The masters  
*înîs aitiuñ auenim otaþinäwûk ninä'nimomenau.*  
 there who are they will to accept our tobacco.  
 be obliged

*Translation*

Mä'näbus commanded us, his uncles and his aunts, to remember him, and he said that we should sacrifice tobacco, and that we should continue to do so. They too, all the great Powers,

our Grandfathers, they shall smoke it. Those who dwell in the tiers above, and all those who dwell below, the masters who reside there, they shall be obliged to accept this tobacco.<sup>8</sup>

When Mä'näbus became of age, he was ordered to guard and protect the earth. He knew nothing of the mysteries, so Mätc Häwätük, the creater, saw him, and said to all the gods, "Let us now give lessons to Mä'näbus so that he can contrive to follow our instructions. Now he is as a child and has no friends. This Mä'näbus is given to you to be your younger brother."

When Mä'näbus heard that he was to have associates, he was pleased. "I am delighted to know it," he said.

Presently he felt in his heart that someone was coming to him that evening. And to his lonely lodge there did come a being. He saw it as it approached, and he thought it a wolf, pure white in color. It came to his mat lodge and entered, and he said, "Sit you yonder, on the opposite side, in the place of honor you be seated."<sup>9</sup> The Wolf obeyed, and Mä'näbus then ad-

dressed him: "Well, my little brother, I am glad you have been sent to me. Your coming makes me happy. I am pleased that you have been given me to care for me. We shall live together, and you shall have one side of this lodge to stay in."

It being evening then, Mä'näbus also said: "Let us now sleep, for tomorrow you will have to hunt. Whatever we shall eat then, you must procure for us."

Surely enough, on the morrow the Wolf set out to hunt and at noon returned with game. A deer was what he fetched.

"Thank you, my little brother! Thank you!" cried Mä'näbus, "Now we will eat!" And again he said these words: "I thank you once more that you have brought food for us to eat, and more so I thank you because you are going to take care of me. Now we will stay here always," he cried to his little brother, "and from here you shall hunt all winter. Now, little brother, to us belongs all this island (the earth), because it has been given us to dwell upon."

Surely enough, the next morning the Wolf started out early, and at noon he brought back again a deer. When Mä'-näbus met him, he cried out: "Oh, *Wä-wänin!* [thanks] How good you are! You please me by bringing this animal. Thank you, my little brother. You have done well. But you must be careful lest you kill too many, for at times later on we may be hungry." When it became dark they retired to their beds and Mä'-näbus spoke to Wolf: "Let us now sleep, for tomorrow you will have to hunt. Whatever we shall eat then, you must procure for us." Then Mä'näbus, in his pride, spoke again, "There are no gods on this island, only we two; we are alone." This Mä'näbus said to instruct his younger brother, but at that time all the other Powers were not even hidden under the earth; some were even partly out upon it. All of them overheard Mä'näbus say this, and they straightway tattled it to their chiefs who lay beneath them, whose power was far greater.

"We have just heard Mä'näbus say

that there were no gods on earth excepting him and his little brother!"

Then the White Bear gods who live in the very nethermost tier below and who are most powerful of all, when they had heard this, said to the Powers in the tiers above them, "Do now as you wish, using your power and ours."

Then the Horned Snakes to whom they had spoken, replied to their masters, beneath them: "Let us hold a council about what has been said. All gather together and let us decide whether or not to destroy Mä'näbus' little brother, even though we know that Mä'näbus himself is a god, and is so recognized on top of the earth." And they met and decided to murder the brother of Mä'näbus, and it was so decreed.

While Mä'näbus slept, he overheard their decision, for their words came to his ears as though they had been uttered near by. In the morning, he arose. "Eh, it is a pity!" he cried. "It is too bad that they have planned it so down below! They have decided to do something to

us up here." Then Mä'näbus said to his little brother: "Now, my younger brother, be very careful from now on; never undertake to cross the sea, or even to walk over it on the ice; be dreadfully afraid of it. And another thing I tell you also, my little brother, on your hunts always be sure to come home before the sun sets; never delay until the sun goes down. I warn you, and I tell you, never to let it happen that way." Then he said no more, for he was finished.

At this time, the Powers Below, having made their plans, decided as follows: "Let us select the fastest runner that we have among us beneath. We will send him outside above, and arrange it so that Mä'näbus' brother shall see him and chase him." They ordered him to go out at night while Mä'näbus and his little brother were asleep. "You go up near their lodge," they said, "and show your tracks; then hide close by and wait for Mä'näbus' brother; show yourself when he follows your trail, and get him

to follow you without fail. Do it that way," they said.

Then, surely, when the brother of Mä'näbus went out of the lodge to hunt, he found near the lodge the tracks of one who had just passed. "Well, this is the one I will now catch," he thought in his heart.

When he got just as far away as he could see the shanty, then he started the decoy of the God Powers who was waiting for him to come.<sup>10</sup> Then Wolf, brother of Mä'näbus, said as he saw the quarry, "This one is mine; this one indeed I am going to fetch."

The pursuit began slowly at first, the game being ahead, and just a little way out of sight all day, waiting and starting when Little Wolf came along. Toward sunset Wolf began to chase all the harder, and the quarry fled from one end of this island to the other, so fast was the chase. Then Wolf thought, as he ran, "I'll surely get him before the sun sets," and pursued all the more, until he caught up to it and saw it. It was a beautiful animal, as white

as snow. "He is beautiful," thought Wolf, "and his skin shall be a mat for my brother, Mä'näbus." And he kept on, straining harder than ever, while his quarry held the same course, until the Wolf brother became so interested in the chase that he forgot the hour. Then all at once he remembered and looked at the sun, and saw that it was very low. Then he thought in his heart, "This is just what my brother told me, so I must go home before the sun sets."

Then Little Wolf thought he would run straight home as fast as he could. As he ran he looked and saw the sun set, and he ran on until he came to a place where it was all void and clear and white, and this was the sea. The brother stopped and looked, and saw nothing but a wilderness of light, only sky and ice in every direction. But he knew his brother's lodge was directly opposite and not far away. He thought in his heart: "I guess I can run across here, for nothing can possibly happen. No, my brother told me not to do so, ever. Oh, well, nothing

will come of it; I shall cross it, and if anything does befall me in the center, I will call to my brother, Mä'näbus, and he will help me out." So thought Wolf, and he decided to cross over on the ice. "It is white, and passable to me; it is safe for me to run across."

So he started and ran, and when he got to the center he heard a great noise and roaring. Then the ice broke up in chunks, the water heaved and roared, the whole sea began to stir. He sprang from one cake to another, and yet they still grew smaller. Then, when he saw his end was near, he cried: "*He!* Mä'näbus! You have said that you were one of the gods! You have promised to help me, and now I am going to be lost! I shall die! Remember your promise to me!"

When Wolf said this, Mä'näbus was seated in his lodge, yet he heard all these words easily, as though they were uttered nearby. Mä'näbus glanced at the sun, and it had already set. Then he started, running toward where he heard the cries. Halfway there he was inter-

rupted by hearing all the little birds who had gathered in a flock to sing, and this attracted him, so when he reached the shore his little brother had been taken down. The bubbling of the water had ceased and he was too late. He looked, listened, and wondered, but he saw and heard nothing. "*Ápapénisiwûg!*" he cried, "I am undone! Those Dwelling Beneath have made away with my little brother! They have prevailed over me. I will go home and lie down and think over this thing in my sleep, so I can learn thoroughly what has happened and decide what I can do."

Then he dreamed, and with his power he tracked his little brother all over the world, until at last he came to the place where his brother had been drawn down into the sea. Then he went in the morning to each of the great mountains of the world, and to all the caves and holes underneath, seeking for his brother, and asking all the Powers dwelling there if they had seen or heard of his brother. Then he went on to the caves, and at

every rocky ledge he went in and saw the Underneath Powers, and asked each, "Have you seen my brother?" and everyone replied, "No, we have not known or seen him." He continued all day, and went to all these places in the world to ask, and in each place they denied all knowledge.

On his return to his abode, Mä'näbus thought, "Now I've been everywhere, and they have all said, 'No.' Now, I've surely lost my brother; they've taken him away. I thought they had hidden him for a time, but now I see they have killed my dear little brother, the only one I had to comfort me."

As he neared the sea he felt something come over him, working upward, and he began to mourn greatly when he saw the place where his brother had disappeared. He began to weep so hard that when he sobbed, at every breath the sea-water receded, until the very Gods Beneath were exposed, and lay visible. When Mä'näbus looked upward and sobbed, the first tier of the Powers Above lowered and quaked.

Then said Mä'näbus in his heart: "I shall return when I have finished my cry. I shall wait four days for my brother, and then I shall struggle against the Powers Below and Above. I'll know then what to do, and I'll commence." When he said these words to himself as he traveled, the Powers in the first tier above heard him. When they learned this, they said to each other, "Oh my! Something is happening! It must be that the Powers Below have done something to Mä'näbus, who was left to care for the surface of this earth. Let us tell the Great Power (Mätc Häwätûk) what we have heard him saying, and that we believe that the Powers Below have injured him. We believe that they have grievously wronged him. Something very serious must have been done," they said to Mätc Häwätûk, "for his distress shook the earth and all the Powers."

Mätc Häwätûk heard their words and looked, and saw, and knew. "Yes, They Below have caused him trouble. It is true, I have given power to Mä'nä-

bus, and he will do what he has threatened, for I have helped him. He will whip and draw out the Underneath Powers for revenge." Then he spoke to the Powers Below, and said: "What have you done to Mä'näbus? It seems that you have caused him great trouble and distressed him. The other Powers have told me, and I see that it is so from here."

Those Below acknowledged that they had done wrong. "Why did you do it?" asked Mätc Häwätûk. "Why did you steal his brother? That is why you will be killed by the power I gave him to use."

Then he added, to the offending Powers, "Now hurry, and try to make him satisfied! You may be able to make him forget his loss by giving him something, some of your medicines, otherwise you will be wiped out!"

So the Powers hurried and held a council and arranged to give the *Mitäwin* to Mä'näbus. They agreed on this. Then the Powers Below came together in the center of the world. There they formed a cylindrical hole, with the Powers Above

at the top, and for interpreter (between them) they selected one to stay in the center, and he was given the power to take messages and repeat them from one side to the other. The Powers Below spoke first, and the Powers Above answered. Then both sides, Above and Below, decided and said, "Let us be one, and let us have it above." Then all those from Below ascended and joined the others.

"Let us build a long lodge here," they said, among themselves, "and when it is done we will search for Mä'näbus, and try to get him to come here to receive something to wipe out his sorrow. Let us now pick out servants to build the lodge," they continued. So it was done.

"There shall be two doors, one to the west and the other to the east, to go in and go out by," said they. And having made the lodge, the servants were told to paint it, so they took blue paint to decorate the poles by marking them here and there. And the lodge looked beautiful. They even colored the circular

trail about the interior of the lodge with blue paint. Then they stopped and held another council, asking, "What shall we roof the lodge with?"

The Power in the north replied, "I will roof the north side," and he furnished a pure white covering. The Power in the south volunteered to help: "I will give you a red covering for the purpose," and he covered the south side with a red covering.

Meantime Mä'näbus knew what was going on. The lodge was now done, and he saw it and wondered what it was. So he looked on, thinking, "The time of my mourning is not yet expired, since the Lower and Upper Powers are together." When they had finished roofing the lodge, they stopped again, and Mä'näbus saw and waited to find out what they would do next.

Then both Powers held a council to decide what they should do further. Both parties entered the lodge. The Powers Below took the north side, the Powers Above chose the south. Then they

asked: "Who shall go and try to get him now? Who shall call him?" Then Mä'näbus knew what they were doing. "Oh, so they are going to come after me? I shall wait and see who will come to try to get me, those Below or Above."

Then from the south side was chosen the greatest one. Duck Hawk was taken as a messenger. "Now go to Mä'näbus, and tell him, your Grandfathers above are calling you to come there. They have erected a lodge to receive you."

Yet Mä'näbus saw and knew it all, and even who was to be sent. When Duck Hawk arrived and invited Mä'näbus, he said, "No, I will not go, because you are from the Above Powers, who did nothing to me. It is Those Below who have offended me."

Then Duck Hawk returned to the lodge and said that he had borne the word to Mä'näbus, who had refused. "He would not have me because I come from Those Above, who have done nothing to him," he said. "It is a messenger from Those Below whom he awaits."

Then they were silent; all the leaders were speechless. At last they called to one off by himself, called Po'sahau [Medicine-bag], that is, Migik [Otter], and he was chief of all the otters, and white in color.

Meantime Mä'näbus watched and listened and knew. He heard the Otter come whistling, and he liked the sound. "Yes, that is the one. He is of the Underground kind, and I shall accept him. I shall answer him, when *he* comes."

While Mä'näbus lay there, verily the Otter opened the door and came in, saying: "Mä'näbus I have come to you; they are having a grand council up there, and they have something to show you and to give you. They have sent me to come after you and tell you."

When Otter had delivered this message he turned and left, and Mä'näbus agreed in his heart, arose, opened the mat door, and looked around for Otter. He could not see him until he looked skyward and saw the white Otter far aloft, and nearly out of sight. So he sprang after Otter,

and they arose to the first tier of heaven where Mä'näbus stopped a while before the door at the eastern end of the *mitäw'-ikomîk* and looked in. He could see the location of both sides, and he observed the position of the Powers Above and the Powers Below. Mä'näbus thought in his heart that he would go to the side that had caused him his sorrow, and so thinking he entered and walked along the northern side. As he passed, he heard the Powers all speaking to each other, telling their delight that he had decided to come, and their voices made a low rumbling noise. He passed down the northern side to the western door and then up on the southern side to the center, where he halted. "Now, Mä'näbus," they said to him, "go and seat yourself at the eastern door, where you first entered, on the right side." (Fig. 1.)

Mä'näbus obeyed, for he thought, "I suppose that that means I must range myself where the Underneath Powers sit." He looked, and behold! their leaders were all in the guise of old men there

sitting, and when he drew nigh they addressed him, saying, "Sit here with us," and their very leader himself moved a little to give Mä'näbus room to sit between him and the second one.<sup>11</sup> Then the leader of the four said to him, "You have now seated yourself. Do you see this lodge—its shape, height, condition,

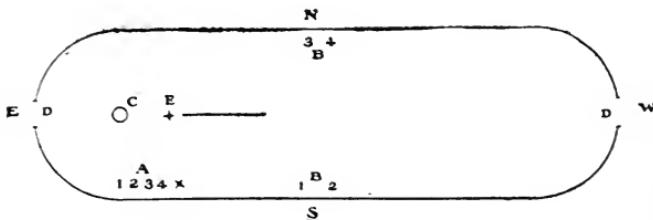


FIG. 1.—Diagram showing position of the candidate and the officers during the first part of the initiation ceremony. (A, *pucwäwük*; B, *osehauwük*; C, tobacco sacrifice; D—D, eastern and western doors; X, candidate, E, position of drum; —, ridge-pole.

and the way it is laid out? This has been made for you alone. It is given to you; it is yours, with all that is in it. This we have done to relieve you of the sadness that now oppresses you." The second one now said to him, "Mä'näbus, look over this lodge, examine it, see

its contents." Mä'näbus surely obeyed, looking at the painted poles and all the contents, and he fancied it and was satisfied. The Powers were seated in the east, ranging to the west and back again to the east (fig. 1), and all the old fellows each had their medicine roots and herbs and their *megisêšûk* (medicine beads or seeds) spread out before them.

"This is all brought here for you to see and to have, from all the Grandfathers. Both sides, Above and Below, have consented to it. They wish to give all this to you, for you to own, to cheer you in your sorrow because they have destroyed your little brother. They beg you to accept this as recompense; then you alone will have profit and reward from it. It will be something great. Take it without fail."

While Mä'näbus was still seated, the second of the four said to him: "Now Mä'näbus, what is to be given you has been made up by the great Creator, Mätc Häwätûk. He said that we must do this for you in order to wipe out your grief.

You must be contented and happy." Of course, Mä'näbus was further instructed by the two leaders: "Now, Mä'näbus, take pains to listen to this and accept it. You were first made to take care of the earth, and were powerful as a god. You had power with you, and you were offended, and this is the way that it is changed with you so that you will be pleased. When you do accept, it will be a great means of favor and help for your parents, the people, from now on forever."

They added: "You see all the medicines that each Power owns, and they are all for a good use and great. They will all now be given to you. When you take them we will accompany you down yonder to the next place to be shown these things, and when you take that position you will receive the entire instruction and initiation. Then the two on the north side arose, and the two on the south side followed, and they came to meet him.<sup>12</sup>

The first of the officers called *osehauwûk*

approached Mä'näbus and stood before him, facing the eastern door. He gave Mä'näbus the first medicine-bead (called *megisê*; it is really a small round seed) to swallow, after a long speech and ceremony. The bead was taken from his medicine-bag, and four pinches of medicine were taken and dissolved in water held in a clam-shell (*Unio*) and given him to swallow. Mä'näbus was given the draft to drink, and his instructor said to him, "This bead shall always remain in your breast."

The first *osehau* now gave way to the second, who came forward to perform, crying, "*Wihihih! Wihihih!*" as he came. He paused before Mä'näbus, and bent over and waved his hands before him, while he opened his mouth and contorted himself until the second *megisê* worked loose from its place in his back, between his shoulders, and fell on the ground before them. He picked it up and handed it to Mä'näbus. "This is my *megisê*," he said, "I'll put it into you to remain forever."

Holding it in the palm of his hand, he offered it first to the east, then to the south, then to the west, and, last of all, to the north; then he turned his palm skyward, and downward, offering it to each of the directions. Then he pressed it to Mä'näbus' mouth, and said, "Now swallow it."

Mä'näbus did so, and the second assistant placed the palm of his hand on Mä'näbus' head, and shook it gently, crying, "Wihihih! Wihihih!" Then he placed his hand on Mä'näbus' back between his shoulders and rubbed the place, again crying, "Wihihih! Wihihih!" in order to work the *megisê* down so that it would lodge in its destined place. This ended the second assistant's work; so the third came before him, offering him blue paint, and saying: "This our paint that I hold I am now going to use to paint Mä'näbus with." He dissolved it in water and added a pinch of a certain medicine. He then took some of the paint upon the end of his forefinger and requested Mä'näbus to look heavenward.

When Mä'näbus did so, he painted the round spot in the hollow at the base of his throat, and then a short straight horizontal bar across the middle of the top of his forehead. Then the second assistant paused, and said, "I have done my part. I have now painted Mä'näbus. This paint represents the sky above and it is also the color that you see inside our lodge."

The fourth assistant next came forward, saying: "It is up to me now. This is what I have to give Mä'näbus. It is a medicine-bag, and of course it is an otter, like mine. I give you this skin to protect you in your life. It shall be your life and body, and you at the same time shall put your medicines in it and keep them there—each of those that are given you, and all those that you may later learn or may have revealed to you."

Then the fourth assistant passed on.

After the four had finished, the leader of the four *pucwäwûk* (assistants) commanded: "Now you four are done. Go back to your places."

Then the four *pucwäwûk* arose and told Mä'näbus to get up with them. The leader said, "You must now follow us as we walk in a circle around the lodge, going down to the western door where we will rest."

The leader led off at a slow walk, singing. At the western door he paused and stopped his song. Then he said to Mä'näbus, "Now rest here a while and look at your shirt." When Mä'näbus looked he saw his hands, and they appeared shrunken and wrinkled, as though they were very old. Then the leader handed him a cane. "You will have to use this when we go up the other side," he said.

They went up the other side, back to the eastern door. "That is enough for me," said the first *pucwäo*, "but number two will now take you in charge."

The second *pucwäo* now said: "Now, Mä'näbus, I have something to tell you too. This is now what is given you by your Grandfathers to take away your grief for your little brother. Therefore

be contented and happy, and never think of him again."

Then the *pucwäwük* started again to come down the lodge with Mä'näbus. The second *pucwäo* was behind Mä'näbus and had his hands on Mä'näbus' shoulders ("lock-step"), symbolizing the fact that the lodge and the powers transferred to him were to prolong his life. They stopped at the western door again, and the second *pucwäo* ceased his song. (The song was the same as that used on the first round, and is the same one that is sung by the two *pucwäwük* following. One half is sung on the journey to the western door, the other half after the pause on the journey back.) The four then returned to the eastern door, where, after further talk and speeches, Mä'näbus was turned over to the third *pucwäo*, the second saying: "Now my next partner will take you in charge."

The third seized Mä'näbus by the shoulders as his predecessor had done, and they proceeded down to the western door, where further advice was given the hero.

Then they returned to the eastern door, where the third *pucwäo* said to him, "Now number four will go on."

Again they started and returned in the same manner as before. On their return the fourth *pucwäo* remarked: "I am done, and now this is what your parents will do as long as the world shall stand. Now look at your shirt." Mä'näbus gazed, and behold! his cane was rotten, and his hands were shriveled with eternal age, and trembled with palsy.

Then the fourth *pucwäo* led Mä'näbus to a seat near the western end of the medicine-lodge. When they got him there and seated him, the seat was like blue velvet. They left him and circled round the lodge to their own place, and the leader spoke to the two *osehau-wük* on the south side. He addressed their leader, saying: "It is now your turn. This will be it; you will each throw your *megisê* to Mä'näbus, who is now seated and waiting." Then the first *pucwäo* circled back round the lodge to his own place.

Now the two *osehauwûk* on the south went once regularly round the lodge to the eastern door, taking with them their two partners on the north side as they passed. As they lined up across the eastern end of the lodge, facing west, the leader of the *osehauwûk* said to Mä'näbus, "Now, Mä'näbus, I'm going to throw to you my *megisê*."

He paused and sang, then circled regularly back, followed by the other three. At the eastern end they halted again, and the first *osehau* announced, "The next one to me will take his turn." The second *osehau* then sang a song in honor of the *megisê*, telling them to be prepared to be transferred to Mä'näbus. This had to be done once by each *osehau*, one round being led by each. Then all four came down to the western end and passed before Mä'näbus was seated. As each went by, he threw his *megisê* at Mä'näbus' feet, and picked it up and swallowed it again, singing his own song meanwhile.

Next they returned, and lined up as before, facing Mä'näbus. Their leader

said, "Now I shall try to make my *megisê* drop down." (It was in his back, of course.) He went down in front of Mä'näbus and stooped over, crying, "*Wihihi! Wihihi!*" and waving his hands until it fell from his mouth. Then each of his associates followed suit, one by one, and Mä'näbus saw them. Then they circled back round the lodge and returned. Then the leader took his *megisê* in the palm of his hand, and the others did likewise. They held their hands palms upward before them and waved them before their bodies, singing, "*Yohoho!*" and circling the lodge. When once more before Mä'näbus, they cried, "*Yahaha!*" and all swallowed their *megisê*sûk at once. Then they circled back to the eastern door and sat down, and laid their medicine-bags on the ground before them. Hitherto they had always carried them in their hands. The four *osehauwûk* had now finished the first part of their work.

Their leader then addressed them, saying, "I am now going to throw my *megisê*

at Mä'näbus." Then he blew on the head of his medicine-bag and started to run toward Mä'näbus. Meantime the leader of the *pucwäwük* had gone down and seated himself behind Mä'näbus to help him. When the first *osehau* ran, he cried, "Yahahaha!" and as he reached Mä'näbus he raised his otter-skin bag, which he held breast-high before him, and thrust its head at Mä'näbus. The power entered his body and he fell unconscious. The other three *osehauwük* now followed their leader and stopped where he shot Mä'näbus. The first one meanwhile made a short circle and came back in the rear, behind Mä'näbus, where he remained. The others circled the lodge again. When they had gone round the lodge and returned to where Mä'näbus sat up, as he had recovered, they stopped, and the second *osehau* cried, "Now I'll shoot Mä'näbus!" Then he prepared to loaded his bag by breathing on its head, and ran at Mä'näbus, crying "Yahahaha!" in order to persuade his *megisé* to fly into Mä'näbus' body.

Surely enough, Mä'näbus fell over again, and lay a few moments until the first *pucwäo*, who still squatted behind him, could revive him. And so they went on, one after the other. The fourth *osehau*, at his turn, remarked, "I will shoot Mä'näbus too, and I will leave this also, my medicine-bag, to be his." He sang a while, and circled to the western door when he got half-way through his song. Then he ran down and shot Mä'näbus. Then all four *osehauwük* ran toward Mä'näbus and stopped and walked to him in single file and shot him. Then indeed Mä'näbus lay flat and unconscious.

The fourth *osehau*, who had promised the *po'sahau* (medicine-bag) to Mä'näbus, placed it across his back as he lay there prostrate. Then the first *pucwäo*, who had been behind Mä'näbus all this time, said to the four *osehau*, "Now go about it and get your *megisêstük* out of Mä'näbus."

Then all four approached Mä'näbus, two on each side, and two took hold of his head and two of his shoulders.

They raised him up and cried, “*Yohihih!* *Wihihih!*” to coax the *megisêsk* out of his body, and out they came. Then Mä’näbus revived, and the four *osehauwûk* went up the south side and paused, while the head *pucwäo* raised Mä’näbus to his feet.

The first *pucwäo* then made Mä’näbus walk around to the eastern door, circling on the west side to get there. There were still some *megisêsk* in his body, and the first *pucwäo* helped him to get rid of these. They both circled again, and on the way to the eastern door, the *pucwäo* coaxed one of them out of him. This was repeated until all four were removed.

Then Mä’näbus was taught to hold his own medicine-bag, and was given *megisêsk*. He swallowed one himself, and blew on the head of his otter bag to prepare it. Then he searched until he found the very first one who had shot at him, and threw the *megisê* back. All this time the first *pucwäo* was behind Mä’näbus, giving advice. When Mä’näbus drew up to the person who had shot him,

the *pucwäo* cried, "Here's the one who first shot you; now shoot him!"

Surely enough, Mä'näbus returned the shot. Then after another circuit, Mä'näbus swallowed another *megisê* and blew on his bag, seeking for the next one of his shooters, and this he repeated until all four were shot.

When Mä'näbus shot the fourth time, or when a candidate shoots today, two different ways are followed. [Apparently my instructor meant that there are two versions of this part of the performance, both of which are followed today in the initiation ceremony.] On shooting each of the preceding three, Mä'näbus made three attempts before actually shooting the *megisê*, but on the fourth round the leader halted him on the third attempt, before he had time to fire his shot, saying, "This is not necessary. Let the *megisê* you have swallowed remain in you forever to help, protect, guard you, and bring you long life." Now Mä'näbus was a *mitäo* (a member of the lodge). Then the first *pucwäo*,

who had been behind him all this time, began to instruct him.

"Now, Mä'näbus," said he, "you have completed your initiation. The *mitäwin* is yours always. This is what your Grandfathers proposed on both sides, and both Powers [above and below] in one. You are now a *mitäo*, and the leader of it. It was given you to wipe away your tears for your little lost brother. When you have parents [the people], as is intended, you shall transfer it to them, and they shall have it forever for their religion. You now see all your Grandfathers here, and I warn you, I strictly tell you, to be very careful to teach your parents of all nations the medicines of which many kinds are given you, each for a purpose. Make no mistakes; tell them to respect the medicines and be very careful of them. Also warn them to cherish the *megisê*, and tell them to keep it well. These things shall be of great aid, help, and benefit to them. You see all those assembled here. They are your Grandfathers. They are giving you

these medicines only for a good purpose. Now, to show that you understand, tell your Grandfathers what each is good for."

Mä'näbus said in return: "My great Grandfathers, I accept this that you have now given me. If it is really true, and a fact, I shall be glad, and I shall care for the lodge as you have advised me, so that it may help the people in the future. Be very careful on your part. I would not have accepted this for myself alone, as I do not need it. I take it only for my parents, in the future, who will desire it. This medicine tree [a euphemism for the *tówaka*, or water-drum, used in the ceremonies of the lodge], you promise, will be heard by the Gods Above and Below whenever and wherever it is sounded. I want you to be careful to remember to listen whenever my parents strike upon it, and assist them as they require, forever. I am satisfied, and am pleased with what you now have given me. It shall be good for my parents and their offspring. It is very good. But I shall yet ask you, can you not take away the

evil spirit<sup>13</sup> or destroy it, so that it will not molest my relatives in the future?"

Then the Powers said: "Oh, in vain you ask us to put away the evil spirit! It is impossible. It cannot be done in any way. He is too powerful; he cannot be destroyed, disposed of, driven away, or wiped out. He must and shall exist. He appears just like a shadow, moving swiftly; but we will say this to you: You try and remedy that yourself, Mä'näbus; you have great powers; you too are as a god; search it out yourself; you are the guardian of the earth!"

So Mä'näbus did try, after they told him; and watched, and waited, and planned against the evil spirit in behalf of the people, but he found his task impossible. In the attempt he learned that the evil spirit was powerful and quick, and Mä'näbus could never catch him. Like a firefly Mä'näbus saw him eternally going ahead of him, until he gave up.

The Grandfathers then said to Mä'näbus: "Now, Mä'näbus we have given

you everything. Be careful and take great pains to carry out all that we have told you. Do not deceive your parents when you meet them face to face and teach them. Tell them exactly as we told you—why we insist on your being so very careful; and this you must also pass on to your people—that they may repeat our words exactly as we have given them to you, so that we may be able to accept their offerings of tobacco."

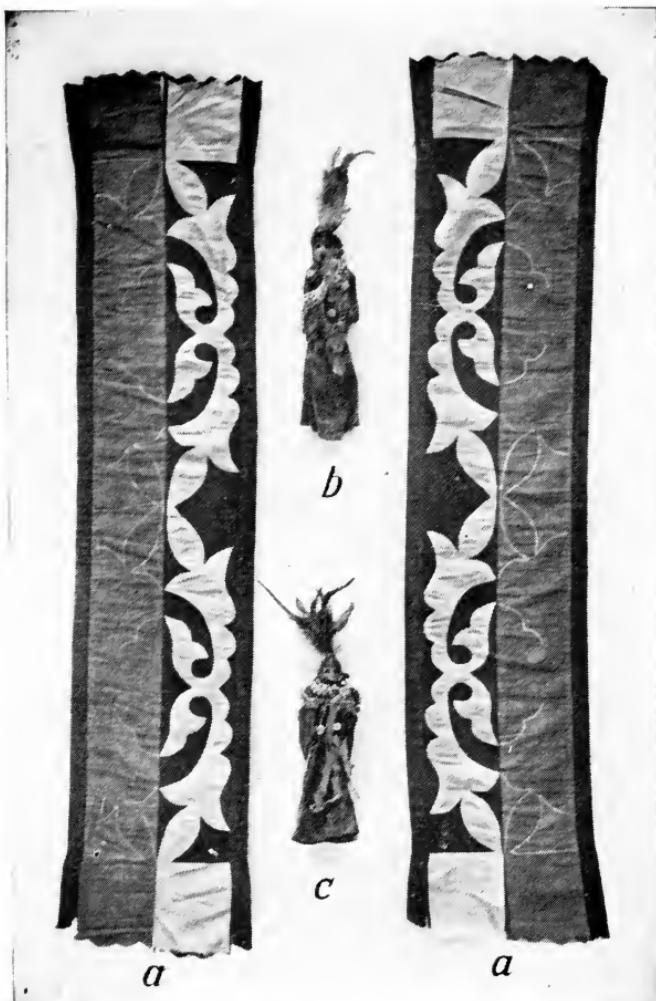
The great Powers said, also: "Take heed to tell your parents that when they want to give a medicine dance, they must first offer and expose their tobacco for us, but it shall go to you first, and you shall transfer it to us, naming us out, each in order. Then each one of us will know it and see your tobacco, and hear your words and accept it, and will pay attention to your prayers. For instance, if in the future your people should do this when one is in distress and almost ready to die, if they offer their tobacco properly, and call on us, we shall at once try to prolong the life of the one they speak for,

and we will hold a council to try to remedy it."

The Grandfathers once more repeated their talk to impress it upon Mä'näbus: "This which we have given you is more important to your people than it is to you. It shall be their only salvation. It is important, and it will be the greater part of your work to teach them what we have said. Remember, we have given you everything—all the powerful roots of each kind, for each purpose. You now have to convey them to the people and tell them precisely as we told you.

"Your Grandfathers give you in addition all sorts of medicine-bags that shall be right and great for you and your people to use. The greatest one, to begin with, is the otter-skin; it is the leader. Next is the mink, especially a white one, if you can get it, after the fashion of your Grandfathers' bags. Different kinds of animals you shall use in their likeness, and it shall continue in rotation along the north side.

"The serpent-skin, representing the horned, hairy snakes, shall be the bag of those who know and have that one and its medicines of both good and evil. On the south side shall be chosen the skins of the great birds, and each shall contain their medicines. You must teach your people each kind. Finally, some will have in addition to their bags the skins of bear cubs, of the lynx, the fox, the wolf, the dog, and all these have medicines which shall also be present in their regular otter-skin bags. A visible power of animal skin besides the regular bag shall not be necessary; some shall put these medicines in their turbans, or near them elsewhere on their bodies.<sup>14</sup> Next Mä'näbus was given the *pa'pewin*.<sup>15</sup> The Grandfathers said to him: "We give you this in addition to the *mitäwin*. It is for you to use when there is a funeral ceremony. These images shall have a badge that goes with them to be worn by those who know how to work them, and they shall be called *pa'pewin* ['the sacred amusement'; see pl. II]. They [those who



WOODEN DOLLS (*b, c*) USED IN PERFORMING THE CEREMONY CALLED PA'PEWIN, AND THEIR WRAPPINGS (*a, a*)



use them] shall be great servants here on earth. The *pa'pewin* shall be performed only on those occasions which we mention, and on the days on which they are to be used we shall give you clear weather, showing nothing but blue sky and no clouds. That will show their power, those magic things." The Grandfathers said: "Now, Mä'näbus, this is what you will do from time to time, as it will be their only remedy; your parents must practise it."

"Now, we are going to tell you something else of great importance to you to hand over and teach your people. One of the great parts of your Grandfathers' ceremony is when they pause to amuse and enjoy themselves, and this performance is called *pa'pewin*. They consider it the acme of greatness among them, and they give it to you to use and carry it out. We caution you so carefully because of your people in the future. When a young person received the *Mitäwin* he may not take interest in the first part and it may not remain in him, so we give you this

to make it more impressive and cause the candidate to venerate your power the more. Otherwise your young people will not care for the rites after the first year. But when you do this, having seen your power, they will be afraid of it and will preserve their belief."

Mä'näbus being taught, heard the Grandfathers say: "Now, Mä'näbus, that is enough for you. We have told you everything and given you everything we have, and it is yours. Now, Mä'näbus, what do you intend to do? We ask if you wish to take it along with you when you depart. Now take it and go away where you belong. We have fitted you out with remedies for your people for the future so that they can exist. And again we say, if you obey and carry it out as we have told you, you will always be right; and your people, if they follow your advice, will have prolonged life and happiness. When you have once told them how to perform the *Mitäwiwin*, it will last them to the end of time."

When Mä'näbus heard them, he changed

his mind and decided to follow the good way. He gathered all the medicine-bags that lay before him, and the roots. "Yes, I accept. I shall carry all these back to the place whence I came and I will obey your instructions implicitly. I will teach my people and give them what you have given me. All nations alike of my parents shall have this for their use."

Then Mä'näbus started, and being above, between the earth and the highest heavens, he descended to the world, and he alighted on his feet and stayed there and looked about for a while. Then he cried, "Now, Grandmother, come to me here." His grandmother came to him, and he spoke to her. "Now, Grandmother, here are the things that my Grandfathers called me to get. Here are the medicine-bags lying side by side, and there are with them medicines of each kind, roots and herbs. All these they gave me. Now it is your turn to look into these things. Examine them and see that they are correct and tell me what you can about them. These medicines

and the bags before you are for the purpose of benefiting my future parents, whom you and I must teach, so I am going to transfer them to you, that you may go over them and finish them, that mankind may be assisted in sickness, and health restored to them. You, Grandmother, shall take care of these medicines." (My instructor explained that this meant that the Grandmother, who is the earth herself personified, should take charge of the roots and allow them to grow in her own body.)

Mä'näbus then said further: "All these shall be in your care to grow in the ground. My parents in the future, when they want a root from your store, shall have to buy the knowledge of it from each other, and to pay for it. The person who buys the root, when he digs it from the earth, must place tobacco in the hole from which the root was taken, as a sacrifice to the herb that grew there, and when this is done the tobacco shall come to you, Grandma.<sup>16</sup> who have roots in charge as your reward. And when

you hear and know and receive that tobacco, Grandma, you shall then add your power to the medicine to make it have a stronger effect upon the sick one for whom it is desired. You too will help in bringing it about that the patient shall have relief, and it shall be of benefit to my human kind."

Then the Grandma cried: "It is good of you, my child, Mä'näbus. It is well that you have accepted the gift offered you by your Grandfathers, and I thank you again for having secured that which will make your parents live on the earth, for if you had not procured it, your future people could not have existed in any way whatsoever. Grandson, look at yourself. In your own case, when you were alone on the earth, how you were treated when your only brother was taken away from you, and how much less could your people in the future have existed without help?"

Then also she said to Mä'näbus: "Grandson," she called him, "you have done well to come to me to gain my

assistance. I gave you what you desired and have fulfilled my part toward you. It is all for your future parents who shall live hereafter. It shall be your duty, and I warn you to be very careful that that which has been given and taught you must be passed down to them exactly as you have received it. Do not deceive your people by telling them anything wrong about these herbs and medicines. Do not exaggerate their powers. Just tell them as it was told to you."

"*O, n'hau noko', wä'wänin,*" cried Mä'näbus, "for what you have told me that shall come in the future. I shall do just as you have told me to do with them. I shall go and visit each nation personally, to tell and show them these things and how to use them. In a short time I shall begin in earnest with my people, but now for a little while I shall remain here with you to test these medicines myself, and to learn them better."

Then Mä'näbus and his Grandmother erected a medicine-lodge and they started to try out the things among themselves.

Mä'näbus laid all the medicine-bags in a row on the ground in the order that he had been taught, and he placed the proper medicines in front of each one, while his Grandmother made ready to assist him. Mä'näbus picked up the otter bag first and held it in his hand while he walked the circle. As he went about, he shook the bag and repeated, "*Wahahaha, wahahaha!*" [My instructor said that these words meant "Take it, take it!"] He showed his Grandmother how it was done. When he got back to the place whence he had taken the otter, he put it down again, and as soon as he had laid it on the ground the bag shook and moved until it almost got up, and they saw it. [At this place, as in other passages the import of which is considered very sacred, my instructor arose, placed his hand on my shoulder, and whispered the words to me.]

"Now, I have done my part and have finished. It is your turn, Grandma. Take up the bag and go around with it as you saw me do, and as you do so, try

to make the otter squeal as it does in nature." Surely enough, Grandma took it and pointed it, and when she got in the middle of the lodge the otter whistled and Grandmother returned with the otter and placed it where she got it. " *N'hau, Mä'näbus*," said she, " You have just said that you wanted the otter to do this and you heard it obey. It shall be that way in the future when your uncles and aunts use such a bag; they shall make it whistle." <sup>17</sup>

Then the two finished testing the gifts that had come fresh from the great Grandfathers who made them and had given them. Then Grandmother said to Mä'näbus, " We have done; we have finished." Mä'näbus replied, " Grandmother, surely enough, they have truly given it to me. We have seen it act and we have heard it."

After this a few years elapsed, then Mä'näbus returned to his Grandmother and said, " This coming spring, Grandma, I am going to begin to teach my parents and show them everything as I was told

to do." When spring arrived, Mä'näbus began to prepare. In the meantime he looked and saw all the roots, herbs, and vegetation growing out of the earth, our Grandmother, who had been asleep all night (winter), and this meant that she too was ready. "Now, Grandma, I am ready," said Mä'näbus, and I will show the people and I will first begin with the Mā'nomänewûk [Menomini] and show them first of all the nations. I am now about to start on my journey and I am heading for the Menominee river to meet the Indians settled there, to teach them this."

He took up the otter-skin first, and said to his Grandmother: "Grandmother, I could teach those people of mine over there by speaking from here while they are in their sleep, casting the knowledge as a dream upon them, but that will not answer. It will be better for me to go there personally and see the one to whom I intend to impart the knowledge as they will believe it, and it will be more solid with them, than if they received it only through a dream."

With these words Mä'näbus started off for the Menominee river and arrived at a point called Pimita'kiû. [My instructor said that the point referred to is a hill near the river and at right angles to the water. The name means "a hill lying crosswise."] There Mä'näbus arrived and waited with his power, saying to himself: "I desire the oldest member of this tribe to come to me. I direct my power to him. He shall come and find me here." The wish of Mä'näbus was so powerful that the old man was constrained to approach.

Soon Mä'näbus saw him draw nigh and he dodged behind the hill. The Indian came up on the other side and when he reached the top he stood there. Then Mä'näbus showed himself, and said, "Come here to me, my uncle." The Indian stood there in astonishment to see someone whom he did not know and had never seen before. "Come here, my uncle; it is I, Mä'näbus, and I want to see you and talk to you." Then the Indian came to him, and Mä'näbus told him

over again who he was, and said, "It is I, your nephew; do not be afraid of me. I do not wish to frighten you; I want only to talk to you."

Then the Menomini found his voice, and asked, "Are you Mä'näbus?"

"Eh, yes, I am he, uncle. Didn't you ever hear me talked about?"

"Yes, I have heard you spoken of."

"Well, I am he, your nephew." Then indeed they shook hands.

"Now, my uncle, I want to tell you here why it is that I caused you to come, and I wish to tell you what my Grandfathers have given me to impart to you, and this is what I want to inform you about, what they did for me in payment for my brother whom they stole away, and this made me cease my crying. It is the *Mitäwin*. That is what your people shall hereafter call it. Uncle, do not deny me my desire. This is the real truth. It has been given me for you people to have. Heretofore you were destined to live only a very short time, and were hardly able to exist, but this is

to prolong your lives and prevail over all distress that may fall upon you, because in the beginning it was not decided by the gods how you might continue to live, but by use of this that I now speak of and give you, you shall be helped to see your own gray hairs, according to the desire of my Grandfathers who sent it to you through me."

"Oh, indeed!" cried the Indian. "If this be true, it is good, and since you show me, I see that it is really truth. If I prove it to be so, it will then be good for us."

"Then," said Mä'näbus, "my uncle, I will now begin to show you. I will do this first to explain it. I shall outline the lodge, its shape, and its way. Come here, uncle, to me. Stand near me, behind my back. You shall follow me in my footsteps, for I am going to outline it and show you the lodge."

Then Mä'näbus turned and faced the west and walked for a certain distance; and behind him the grass vanished for his uncle to see. It looked like a well-

beaten, bare trail. [My instructor assured me in an aside that this refers to the deep trodden path worn by the dancers in the medicine-lodge.] When Mä'näbus had gone a short distance, he stopped. "Here is a door called the 'west-end door,' which faces the sunset," said Mä'näbus to his uncle; and he started and turned, going back on the south side until he came to the place where he had begun on the east, and there he stopped and stood. "Here is a door, the entrance door," said Mä'näbus, and he showed the Indian the exact width that it was to be. "And also the other door shall be the same width," he said. He circled, again carefully showing the Indian.

"At this distance apart you will stand the poles," and he told the old man the width and length that the lodge was to be. He showed the Indian how to bend the poles over and make them meet. "You will have to have cross-poles and tie them with basswood string," he said, and he showed the Indian and told him how high the lodge should be. "A little bit

higher than an ordinary wigwam, sufficient to stand and walk in," he added. You have cattail mats (*upá'kiúk*) of your own at home; fetch them here and use them as a covering for the building. They should be carefully tied on."

"I have now outlined and finished this, and you and I shall depart. But I shall come again to see you and tell you more. By that time you will have the building finished and made in the manner I have explained. In the meantime you will call the people and explain to them in full as I have told you. This is the real truth, and you are not deceived, and I shall be here surely on the fourth day, with this otter medicine-bag which you see in my hand, which my great Grandfathers gave me. In it are all kinds of powerful medicines. *Megisésük* of several kinds are in it, and it will be your duty to gather the people and make them believe what I have told you, and see that they all come here and meet at this lodge. When I know that they have arrived I shall come here on that fourth day to

greet you all, and to teach you what has been given to me to pass on to you."

Then the old Menomini went home, and when he reached there he laid down his tobacco as a sacrifice, and sent for all his people to come to him. When they had gathered, he told them, in the presence of the tobacco, "I have seen our nephew myself, yonder across the river at a place called Pimita'kiú." Then the old man made all the people smoke, and when they had finished, he related to them how he had come to see their nephew, and what Mä'näbus had given him to relate. The old Indian told how their nephew had received the powers given by all the great gods to help the people in their struggles with disease. Mä'näbus had narrated how the Grandfathers had sympathy for the Indians in their ignorance, for their lives were very short and distressed, and in their mercy the gods had made up the *Mitäwin* to give them, so that when they believed and practised it, the people would be able to cure sickness and prolong their

lives; and the Grandfathers themselves would be pleased whenever the ceremony was given and would hasten to aid the people. The old Menomini told them how his nephew had outlined the lodge and that they would have to erect it within the four days allotted to them, and that their nephew would come to them.

When they heard this news, all the Indians said to him, "Is this true? Is this real? Did you indeed see our nephew?"

"Yes, I have seen our nephew," he said. "He said this to me, and he showed me an otter-skin, and told me all that too, and added that when he came on the fourth day to meet us at the lodge which we will build for him, he would show us the same otter-skin medicine-bag and teach us about it."

When the old Indian had said his say, all the multitude cried out, "We will go tomorrow and build the medicine-lodge. We will see the place at the same time, and view for ourselves what Mä'näbus

outlined and showed to our old man there. When we see it and learn for ourselves that it is so, we will indeed put up this lodge."

So the next day the old man led his people there, and when they had arrived at the place, the Indian said to the other old men present, his relatives and friends, "This is the very spot where I met our nephew, Mä'näbus, and the sign lies here,—the outline of the lodge where he showed me how it must be made,—and we must now follow his directions as I was instructed." All the people believed then, because verily they saw the tracks of Mä'näbus, and the beaten path, and they cried, "This is the truth!"

"Well then," said the old man, "let us begin right away and do it as he has shown me. There are his marks where he told me to drive the stakes. Let us hurry to have it done within the time appointed."

Then they fell to work all together, and since there were many of them, they finished the lodge complete and ready for

use within one day. "We are now done," said the old leader, "and our nephew promised to be here at a certain time. So we must be ready and waiting to receive him."

On the fourth day Mä'näbus came as he had agreed. Then when the sun was nearly set he approached with his water-drum and stood on the same place where he was first seen, on the hilltop, and remained there. The old man saw him and beckoned to him and went part way to meet him. "Are you now ready?" asked Mä'näbus.

"Yes," replied the elder.

"I must say to you, all being together, to tell your young people up to those of middle age to go back to their homes. Only you old men remain at the lodge, and I will come presently."

After a time Mä'näbus proceeded to the tent, where the old man met him and told him that the younger people had been sent away. "It is well," said Mä'näbus, and he approached the building and entered at the eastern door and stood

there. "Oh, you, my uncles," he cried, "sit here near the door at the right-hand side. This will always be the place for you head members, and here I shall teach you." So they placed four of the oldest men (the four *pucwäwük*) at the entrance door and four (*osehauwük*) at the center door, two on each side. When they had done this Mä'näbus spoke to them again: "This is the way they made me sit up above, our Grandfathers, the Powers. Now you, my parents, listen, for I am going to teach you as they taught me. This is what our Grandfathers told me in order to assuage my grief. This is what they gave me in your behalf, to help you to exist in a better way than you do now. When it comes to that time when sickness overwhelms you, erect the lodge as a remedy. When you come in, the first thing that you must do is this: to enter the lodge in the evening and pass the night there sitting up to gain the power of the moon who guards the night. It is the shade of the night's power. This must be your first act. You will react

my initiation, and sing and drum the whole night; and early in the morning, when the sun is even with the tops of the trees [about six o'clock], then divide the lodge in two at the center with a partition just east of the place where the four assistants [*osehauwûk*] are seated."

Then Mä'näbus told of the two Powers from the north, and the two Powers from the south, who had assisted him, and placed them east of the partition. The first one had given the medicine drink to Mä'näbus. The second one had furnished the *megisê* from his own body. Mä'nabus explained all this and did all these things to the people as they had been done for him, he being full teacher and performing each part himself, and they all imitated him. He painted them and gave them medicine-bags.

Mä'näbus told his uncles, or parents, that his Grandfathers had kept him in the lodge four days. "And you, my uncles," said he, "will do the same. In the meantime I shall learn more roots and medicines to teach you."

And as Mä'näbus was told not to go beyond what he was taught, he did no more. But it took him four days to show his parents the building, songs, speeches, and medicines, all of which he passed on to his uncles. This is the main part and the important part of the ritual of the lodge, and this finishes it.

#### INITIATION CEREMONY

In spite of the often reiterated charge that nothing must be changed, that everything must be conducted by the Indians exactly as the gods showed Mä'näbus; and while the Indians stoutly maintain that they still obey his commands to the letter, nevertheless, in practice, many discrepancies have crept in. For instance, in early times, according to the command of Mä'näbus, the *pucwäwük* invariably took a sweat-bath before going into the lodge. This rite, however, has not been kept up since the Menomini left Lake Poygan, although Hoffman (p. 117) speaks as though it was still done in his time, the Indians being of the

opinion that the heat and violent change of temperature affected those who were old and in ill health. So the Indians have substituted an entirely different method of procedure.

In former days the sweat-house was erected close to the *mitäw'ikomîk*. The *pucwäwûk* entered one at a time. A stone about two feet square was heated and brought into the sudatory. The priest then poured medicated water on it, and as the dense steam arose he held his hand over his mouth and cried, "We-hohohoho!" while he poured. Water was poured over the stone four times, and then a small hole was made in the cover of the sudatory at the top, to let the steam escape and ascend to Mä'näbus and the gods above.

Nowadays a stone of about the same shape as, but smaller than, that formerly used, is taken and painted with the sacred blue paint to symbolize the holy vapor of the sweat-bath. This is in the western or in the southern end of the lodge (for under certain circumstances

the lodge is faced north and south). Tobacco is placed on the stone and it is considered one of the sacred objects of the lodge. It is quite probable that many of the younger members do not recognize the symbolism of this stone.

In modern times when an Indian man or woman wishes to become a member of the lodge, and is not received in place of a dead member, the regular initiation ceremony is as follows:

While Mä'näbus required four days for his initiation and commanded his people to take four days for their work, the Indians now have reduced the time to two days and two nights. The Potawatomi, however, according to the Menomini, still obey the orders of Mä'näbus. Prior to the erection of the lodge, the candidate has collected enormous quantities of presents with which he has bought the sacred myths (the chief one of which has just been given), and other instructions, from the most noted shamans in the neighborhood.

When he is proficient in this part of the

necessary knowledge, he procures still greater gifts and turns them over to his instructors with the request that the initiation ceremony be held, that he may become a member. His instructors, who must be leaders in the ceremony, send out invitations and the building is prepared (pl. III).

The ceremony opens in the evening with a speech by the first *osehau*, which is: "I offer this tobacco to Mä'näbus and the four Grandfathers, chief of the Powers Above, who are seated about the celestial cylinder.<sup>18</sup> Also to those beneath the world, the four chiefs underneath, and the servants of all the gods must accept my offering. Now this building has been prepared for its duty." The speaker then turns to the pile of gifts, and says: "We will hang these goods on the ridge-pole which has been prepared [fig. 1]. If my great Grandfathers have told the truth to me, it will come to pass as they have promised when I repeat what they have said about these presents.

"I am now going to thank the great



INTERIOR OF MENOMINI MEDICINE-LODGE



Powers for the people whom they have befriended, and I myself must thank them. Here on the ridge-pole of the lodge are placed these blankets and presents for payment to us, as the great Grandfathers and Mä'näbus have commanded."

The speaker now takes up the gourd rattle and begins to chant to its accompaniment. "Now I will repeat what I am supposed to say about being thankful for the ridge-pole and the goods that hang from it, that are given to us by Mä'näbus and the great Grandfathers. I will repeat it so that I shall be heard." He then sings—

*Tayahähä akotcikanehihi  
Tayahähä akotcikanehihi  
Wina nikanau pahaha  
Wina nikanau pahaha  
Wehohohoho wehohohoho  
Siyä akotcikane*

(The meaning of this song is, "We are now going to hang our goods.") Then he rises and moves the gifts toward the ridge-pole. The second *osehau* follows

in turn, first singing and then moving the gifts, and so on to the third and fourth. The presents are then all ready to be hung up in plain view, by servants appointed beforehand.

When the goods have been hung, the *osehauwûk* and *pucwâwûk* tell the candidate the teachings of Mä'näbus during the entire night. Just at dawn they cease, and the first *pucwäo* announces that it is time for recess, so all go out and eat. At six o'clock, or, according to Indian reckoning, when the sun is tree high, the servants hang a curtain across the eastern end of the lodge, just east of where the *osehauwûk* are seated, and the second part of the initiation is commenced east of the curtain. The four *osehauwûk* enter with the candidate and give him the medicines to drink, and the *megisêšûk*, as they were given Mä'näbus. After this the head-man or first *pucwäo* orders another recess. During the recess the four *pucwâwûk* sing to the time of the water-drum, and at the second pause in the music, two of the *osehauwûk* return.

The other two come in later. The first enter, circle about, returning to the door where they came in, and stop. Their leader then makes a short speech, after which he sings:

*Wehehehehe hokewapehehe tekäkoni*  
*Yohohohoho*  
*Wihihihis kigone.*

This he repeats over and over again in as mystical a manner as possible, using many “*wihihihis*” and “*yohohohos*” to confuse the listener. The meaning of the song, however, is, “We are entering this lodge now, the home of the powerful gods. We are going in.” When he has sung the song with many repetitions, he circles about the building and returns to the place where he sat the night before with his companion. When this is over, the other two *osehauwük* come in through the western door and circle the entire length of the lodge, stopping on their return. They then sing their song and circle around once more to the eastern door, where the leader sings, and after this tells his comrades where to sit, which

is on the south side of the lodge in the center.

After this, tobacco is placed in front for the four *pucwāwûk*, and they spread it out on a piece of bright-colored cloth and set it down to be placed in the center of the lodge between the four *osehauwûk*. Then the first *pucwāo* rises, and says, "We have transferred our tobacco to the center, and it is the turn of the two *osehauwûk* on the north side to speak to it. This they do; the first one prays to Mä'näbus, then to the four Powers Above and the four Powers Below. He sings a thanksgiving song for the tobacco and sits down. The prayer is as follows:

"We who are gathered here offer this tobacco to you, Mä'näbus, and through you to your Grandfathers, the Powers Above and Powers Below, especially to those Pure White Ones, chiefs of the nethermost tiers, because it was they who gave this *Mitäwin* to Mä'näbus in order to assuage his grief and suffering for his little brother, whom they had stolen away. And you too of the Fowl Kind,

sacred and important birds of the air who guard us, you too assisted in giving this lodge to our nephew Mä'näbus. And you too, Great Sun, who are a servant to Mätc Häwätûk, our creator, who watches over us during the day until darkness, when the evil spirits appear and roam about. All of you come nigh and partake of this sacrifice."

Servants place a heap of tobacco in the center of the lodge on the ground near the *osehauwûk*, the head officer of whom makes the speech. Afterward this tobacco is referred to as "blue tobacco," to signify that it has been accepted and partaken of in essence by the Powers.

The other *osehau* likewise sings a song in praise and in honor of the tobacco, after which he passes the work over to the two officers opposite them.

The leader of these then says, "I shall talk, and afterward we shall all smoke." When the two have finished their speeches, the servants arise and divide the tobacco, afterward passing it on

through the lodge, and ceremonial smoking is indulged in by all present.

Now the third and fourth *osehauwûk*, who have been permitted a short recess during the tobacco ceremony, enter. The third sings and then passes the work on to the fourth, who gives a short song. Then the first *pucwäo* remarks, "Now we will begin," and all four arise, ordering the candidate, who is seated between the first and second *pucwäowûk*, to join them. The leader then speaks, and explains to the candidate about the seat in the western end of the lodge, which symbolizes the place where Mä'näbus sat during his initiation. He then sings a song. This song, from another member of the lodge than the regular instructor, however, is as follows:

*Kina wehekwûnau Mitäwinänii kinatawe  
hekwûnau.*

You medicine-men are giving this to us.

You make us have this.

At the close of this song, and in fact after every song and speech used in the ceremony, the performer cries out:

"*Níkanúk! Níkanúk!*" (My associates! My associates!) This is the formal ending for all *Mitäwin* speeches.

So singing, the leader starts on the march down to the western door, where they all pause, and he sings again. From the western door he circles up the south side, still singing, to the place at the eastern door where they started. In the meantime the candidate marches ahead of them and the leader has his hands on the new man's shoulders. This performance is repeated by all four *pucwäwûk*, the last one of whom seats the candidate, who represents *Mä'näbus*, at the sacred seat (fig. 2). The four then circle, dividing at the eastern door, and two return to the center of the lodge, where they stop and talk to the four *osehauwûk*. Each *pucwäo* places his hands on the head of one of the *osehauwûk* and calls him by some term of relationship, real or fictitious, saying: "My relative, now I come to you. You will take out your *megisê* from your body and repeat what was ordered by our Grandfather *Mä'näbus*."

Then the two *osehauwûk* on the north are told by the *pucwâwûk* who are speaking to them, "You will now begin." The four *pucwâwûk* return to their places. Then all present arise and circle about the lodge, coaxing the four *osehauwûk* in order to help them get their *megisêsk*. The first of the *osehauwûk* says, "Now I shall try to get my *megisê* loose." So he

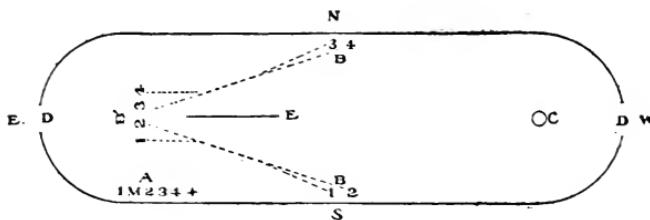


FIG. 2.—Diagram of the building during the shooting ceremony. (A, *pucwâwûk*; B, B, first and second positions of *osehauwûk* during the shooting; M, traditional position of *Mä'nâbus* during the first part of the rites; +, position of candidate during the preliminary rite; C, position of candidate during the shooting ceremony.)

sings a song to work it free from his body. When he is finished, he orders his next companion to do the same, and so on until all four are finished.

Meantime blankets have been spread

before the candidate, one over another. By this time the four have finished singing and they then circle four times about the lodge, crying “*Yahahahaha!*” As the four circle, the leader comes to the end of the pile of blankets, with the others behind them, in two rows on each side of the lodge. Each bends over, waves his hand, and cries until the *megisē* falls out of his mouth. The servants are then ordered to examine the *megisēsūk* to see what position they occupy, for the *megisēsūk* have two sides, a right and a wrong, and if the servants report that most of them are right-side up, it is a good omen.

After this the leader starts off, and they circle round the lodge. When they return, the leader picks up his *megisē*, and so do the others, men and women, who hold them in the palms of their hands, waving them backward and forward for all to see. All cry, “*Yoho!*” and circle once more. When they draw opposite the candidate, each in turn swallows his or her bead. Then the leader circles

once more and returns to his own place at the eastern door, and each person takes his own place. One of the performers, the first *pucwāo*, holds the candidate from behind, as was done to Männäbus. The first *osehau* then says, "I will now throw the *megisē* to him, he to receive it and be our child." Taking the otter bag in his hand, he runs toward the seated candidate, crying, "Yahaha!" and shoots the *megisē* into him. The candidate flinches, to show that he has been struck. This is repeated by each of the *osehauwük*. The force of the last shot knocks the candidate prone.

The fourth *osehau*, who is the one to furnish the medicine-bag, lays his bag on the back of the candidate, who is prostrate on his face, and leaves it there. The leader now orders the candidate revived, so the four *osehauwük* approach him, seize him by the hips and shoulders, crying, "Yohehehe!" and shake him until the *megisē* falls from his mouth.

The candidate is first seated at the sacred seat at noon exactly, because that

is the time when the sun stops on its journey to look down at the world, and the ceremony ceases at nightfall.

The shooting part which we have just described ends just a little after noon, and there is now a pause to feast on food which is brought in, the food being provided by the candidate. During all the previous part of the performance the water-drum has been kept at the eastern door, but just after the feast it is carried around and given to the two on the north side of the lodge. The leader then begins to drum, and sings four sacred songs. He then pauses and strikes up another four, while the women dance. His companion then sings four more, during which the women merely rise and dance in their places. The candidate all this time stands beside the drummers, having circled, from his place with the *pucwäwük*, round the lodge to them. The drum is then passed to the second *osehau* on the north side, who repeats the four sacred songs, during which there is no dancing. He then begins four more, when the

women once more rise and dance. The candidate, who has returned to his old place at the conclusion of the singing by the first *osehau* on the north, now comes back and stands in front of the drum. At the conclusion of the singing and dancing the servants carry the drum round the lodge, crying "*Hihihih!*" while they beat it; they also sing—

*Askipakisit sawtcihim.*  
Blue one I ask you.

It is left with the *osehauwûk* on the south side, who repeat the performance just described, except that in the second set of four songs sung by each, the men also join with the women and dance.

This has taken so long that the sun is almost down. The drum is now carried to the eastern door and placed in the middle of the lodge door. The two *osehauwûk* circle on the north side, come around, and are joined by the two on the south, who go to the eastern door, and all stand in a row across the eastern door of the lodge. Here they all sing a sacred

song together, and all those present arise and dance. The members while dancing circle about the lodge, and all shoot each other with their medicine-bags, the candidate mingling with the rest in the general shooting. Drumming and singing are also performed by various important members of the lodge, who have been designated by the candidate to receive presents. These men and women are personages whose only part in the performance has been to cough up *megisésük* before the candidate has been shot the first time. There are about twenty or thirty of these. The hour is now about four o'clock. [Here my instructor paused to remark that, in the Obliteration Ceremony for the dead, this is the time when the performers proceed to the grave. The drum is carried down to the cemetery from the lodge and all shoot each other as they go.]

All the members cease their performance and sit down; then the *pucwäwük* rise, go to the ridge-pole, and take down the offerings of the candidate, which are

blankets, strouding, calicoes, mats, bead-work, and other desirable things. They then circle about the lodge with the goods, and the candidate joins them. As they circle they dance and sing songs of thanksgiving. The leader then says, at the conclusion of this dance, "Now the candidate will distribute these goods to you," and they walk round the lodge again with the candidate in the lead. Each of the *pucwäwük* holds a blanket. They stop in front of the *osehauwük*, and the leader hands a blanket to the candidate, who gives it to the first *osehau*, and so on. Those who retched up the *megisésük* receive smaller presents.

When the gifts have been distributed, the *pucwäwük* circle about the lodge once more with the candidate, and then order him to sit on the north side of the two *osehauwük* there. The *pucwäwük* continue to go about handing out smaller gifts. The sun is now nearly set, and the leaders take their places. They receive none of the gifts. Then the first and third *osehauwük*, that is, the two

leaders on each side of the lodge, arise and say, "We have finished," and it is now understood that they are to lead the crowd out of the eastern and western doors. The four *pucwawuk* are to stay behind with the candidate. The two leaders on the north side proceed to the eastern door, followed by all the members seated on that side of the lodge. The two on the south go to the western door. At the western door the two leaders recite the reason for the ceremony. They then sing, and are joined by the two leaders at the eastern door. The songs are songs of thanksgiving because the candidate has received new life. They are sung loud enough for the Powers to hear. The two lines now about-face, pass out of opposite doors, and the ceremony is over.

THE JEBAINOKE, OR PRIVATE MEMORIAL CEREMONY, FOR MEMBERS OF THE LODGE

This is the second great function of the medicine-lodge as known to the Menom-

ini. I have called it a private ceremony in order to distinguish it from the *Uswi-nauamikäsko*, or Obliteration Ceremony, the public performance for noted members of the lodge. This is one of the most difficult parts of the *Mitäwin* ritual to obtain, inasmuch as it is secret, and extremely unlucky to discuss, except at the time of the funeral. It is thought that if these things are spoken about when everyone is well, a death is certain to ensue.

In beginning my instruction in this part, my tutor again made an offering of tobacco, which he directed to Na<sup>x</sup>patäo, calling him "Younger brother of Mä'näbus, who has gone to the west." He next directed tobacco to the shades of the dead who have gone on to the same place ahead of us, referring to those who died first, after the rites were introduced. He further explained that this ritual is an arm or branch of the lodge, and that the myth accounting for its origin forks off at the place where Mä'näbus' little brother was lost. The myth is as follows:

Mä'näbus said, when he at last realized that his brother was dead, "I shall now wait four days to see if my brother will return." On the night of the fourth he said to himself as he lay down to rest, "Now is the time that he ought to come to me." When Mä'näbus was almost dozing off, he began to feel and know that his brother Na<sup>x</sup>patäo was approaching. In the meantime Mä'näbus thought that if his brother did return to him, in his own body in a natural way, just as when he had first left, it would be well. So he looked and waited, but he saw only the shade of Na<sup>x</sup>patäo, like a shadow cast by the moonlight. Mä'näbus sat up to look more closely, and when he saw his little brother's nature was changed, he arose and cried out to the shade, which was outside a little way, "Stop where you are!" Then Mä'näbus cried: "Alas, little brother, I had supposed you had gone only for a short time, and would return to me in a natural way; I had thought that those Powers might have wanted to keep you only a little while and then let

you return. But now you are disgusting to my sight, and therefore have turned my mind so I shall not let you enter my lodge in your present condition. Now, my little brother, I have decided what I shall do. Little brother, you will have to continue on your journey. Follow the sun's course to the west, where it sets, and go on a little farther; a little bit to the north of that place where the sun goes down shall be your abode."

Then Na<sup>x</sup>patäo answered Mä'näbus and said, "Oh, alas, this is too bad, that you are now doing, by ordering me to continue my journey to that place! It will hurt our uncles and aunts in the future. The better way would have been, when our parents were missing or lost, to allow them to return to life on the fourth day, just as I have done."

Then Mä'näbus said to his little brother, "No, it is my earnest intention to do as I have ordered you. I have planned it that way and I cannot change it. It would not be good to do as you say, for the benefit of our parents to come,

and, moreover, the gods, the four gods under us, those nearest the surface, they have planned it this way with their terrible power. They have done this to you and to me, and have made it so. It cannot be bettered because they have conquered us from the very beginning; and I tell you this, my little brother, because the day has already passed with me that you were lost and I missed you. I looked for you the next day and lamented, and wept, and inquired for you all over the whole world, and in so doing I showed my grief so that all the great Grandfathers, the Powers that lay between heaven and earth, and all the Powers beneath, have heard me in my sorrow and in my anguish, and that is why I refuse to receive you. I must have revenge upon them, and let them know that I am powerful on earth. I cannot turn back now, so I order you to take your course right on. Na<sup>x</sup>patäo, my younger brother, I might accept you, but cannot and will not, because if I do take you in your present condition, within a

short time more trouble will be made for us by the same evil powers who hurt me, and I therefore insist on making an end of it. Moreover, if you are accepted in your shade it will be dreadful for your parents to return that way in the future, so keep on your way, Na<sup>x</sup>patäo."

Na<sup>x</sup>patäo replied: "You have told me all that you want me to do and made me understand it, so I now choose to obey you in every particular; but you must instruct me further how to proceed to this place, since you have power and must know all the things that I have to do. I bow to your will. It is good."

Mä'näbus answered: "Well done, my dear little brother. Now I shall provide for you. You shall have our fire from earth." Mä'näbus took a brand from the fire and handed it out to Na<sup>x</sup>patäo. "Here, I give you this to take along with you to the place where you are going. Now, little brother, be very careful to do rightly what I am about to tell you. Make no mistake, because, if you do, it will be of great harm to our parents in the

future, as they will suffer and derive no benefit; but if you accomplish all that I say, it shall be good for them. This is what it is: As you have determined to go where I have ordered, you shall clear their road for them, and make good the path that they shall have to follow in the future."

Then said Mä'näbus to Na<sup>x</sup>patäo: "As you are now about ready to take your departure, my little brother, I order you to make a visible open path. Make four plain spaces that can be seen." And surely enough there were already marked on the clear white sands, four tracks where Na<sup>x</sup>patäo started. Mä'näbus added: "After you make those four spaces, arrange it so that the trail will be good and cannot be missed. At intervals cause beautiful flowers to spring up and mark the road. This I ask you, so that our future parents may easily trace you and see the open road, and also that the babies may be lured on and kept in the path by the sight of the pretty blossoms, until they reach the goal that they are

headed for. If you do this at my order it shall be well done, and will redound to the benefit of our relatives."

Then Na<sup>x</sup>patäo started, and Mä'näbus, listening, heard his footsteps dying away in the distance, and when he had gone a little way Mä'näbus heard him weeping and singing, and when he heard Na<sup>x</sup>patäo doing this it made the heart of Mä'näbus heavy; then the sound of his brother's wailing died away, and Mä'näbus began to be overcome by a feeling that commenced at his belt and worked up to his heart, and he cried aloud in sadness and despair at the parting. After a time Mä'näbus stopped and thought a while of his little brother, and what he had said in refusing him and ordering him on, and he considered what his little brother had said in return, and his sorrow was the greater. "Alas, if I had listened to my younger brother, my present sadness would not have been!" he said to himself. At length he ceased his lamenting and thought it over again. "Oh, my little brother!" he wailed. "Well, I will

wait a short time, and then I will follow you and track you, and will go and see what you have done to mark off the way as I told you. I shall learn how you prepared the resting place I ordered you to make."

After a while Mä'näbus rested again in his sadness. He even thought of how happy they had once been together, and the disaster that had overtaken them, and his sorrow broke out afresh. Then Mä'näbus said to himself: "I shall try to make it all up again by trailing my little brother. I must follow him and see where he has gone, for the sight of him will do me good."

So Mä'näbus started, and he saw his brother's trail, and groaned: "This is the very place where my brother started from. I shall go and see where he stood when we conversed." He went, and surely enough he observed where his brother had stood, for the white earth from underneath was exposed. "Yes, truly, he has obeyed me," thought Mä'näbus, and he followed the path, and the trail was very

open, straight, and visible. It led up over a rise to the westward, and finally, as he journeyed he saw it bear off a little to the north as he had commanded, and Mä'näbus saw and was fully satisfied with the way the trail opened for him—it was so well and plainly marked. As he traveled he saw the flowers he had commanded, growing along the sides of the road for the traveling souls to admire. As he went on, everything he saw was satisfactory.

At last Mä'näbus arrived where his little brother was, and that was beyond the sunset, to the north, where he saw a large, grand lodge erected. "This too is my brother's doing, as I told him," said Mä'näbus. When he was almost at the lodge, his brother, who was within, knew it, and came to meet him. "Stop right where you are," cried his little brother. "Why do you come here with your whole natural body? Remember what you said to me when I returned to you in my shade, and you rebuked me and said it was not right."

Mä'näbus replied: "No, brother, I came here only to see you and to learn whether you had obeyed my orders. I am here to give you further commands. Know then, what shall be. If the earth continues to exist there shall be more of our parents, and if they multiply and die they then will come here. There will be very many of them. You are already here and prepared. It is good, and it shall be taught to our parents while they are still alive, and it shall be repeated also to those who have just died. This should be done to them at their graves." And Mä'näbus added: "Once more I carefully warn you, telling you what you must sedulously observe for our parents. Some of our relatives will be bad, their lives evil and deceitful, dishonest; or witches, harming their own people; murderers, all of these will come here, where we now stand talking, and when they arrive, do not let them pass; but all those who are good, just, and live righteous lives, you must mercifully accept. That is what I came here purposely to tell you, because

I want you to learn it all from me. Of course, there shall be some of them journeying from time to time; old and young will arrive. Some will be very aged, and you shall know them by their way, who were unrighteous and disobedient. Do not let them by. Send them back, away from here. But it is your duty to pass those who are just, and to take them and make them happy. I beg you to listen to me about another thing, and I warn you strongly. It is this: The people who are to come shall be good, and they shall have descendants who may be good too, and they shall receive shades as you did, and shall come to you to be accepted and admitted into your beautiful lodge to live with you. In the meantime they shall have left behind some dear ones who shall mourn them, and they shall occasionally perform a medicine dance, and in it shall have a separate sacrifice to the one who left, and is living with you. When they do that, you must hear them entreat you, and when this occurs, dear little brother, dismiss the shade that is

called for, and allow it to go back to the earth to receive the sacrifice. Let it be there long enough for that, and when you do that, you will be very good and wise, and you too will receive a share in the offering: goods, tobacco, and feast."

Then Mä'näbus said to Na<sup>x</sup>patäo, "Also take note of all this and be very careful. Our parents will keep coming, and especially the little innocent ones; when they die on the earth, you will note it, and see it from here; and our relatives inside the lodge, who have long ago been alive, must be told that there is one yonder on its way here, and because it is of their blood, kind, and people, and comes from where they too lived once, they must go out and meet it on the way, and shake hands with it and kiss it, to show their joy at the meeting. Another thing that you must do," Mä'näbus added, "that I order you to do when those parents of ours come here, you too must meet them at the door. You must give them a fresh drink of your medicine, to revive, purify, and purge them. This will take away

their earthly knowledge and give them new and heavenly understanding which is not quite as full and strong as theirs, yet of a different nature from what they had before. Moreover, be very careful to note that all those who come here are received and used well and cared for, for here you are the chief, who is supposed to have charge over them, and I, yonder where I am, I will care for the living ones. They shall direct prayers to you, knowing that you are here, and you shall have the power to know and hear them. Always have mercy on them and carry out what is desired of you. This I tell you to observe without fail. For my part, I shall be opposite in the east, and I shall care for the living ones of the earth. They shall petition me and ask me favors, and when they mention me, I shall never refuse them. I will do my part well, and you do yours, for those who desire it.

“Now, my little brother, observe these things that I came to tell you. Care for those who have once lived on earth, who afterward left their bodies and came to

you in their shades, and this shall continue as long as the world and its people shall exist. I am now done with you, my little brother. I shall return and leave you for good. I shall never come back to you any more, but I came to you this one time to see you, and tell you what I wanted done, and you were right in rebuking me for appearing in my whole and natural form. Yet, I did not want to come as a shade, but in my body, as I was when last we met. So you must forgive me this once, for it had so been ordained. Hereafter you will always receive our relatives as shades after the breath of life has left their bodies."

Now Na<sup>x</sup>patäo answered: "It is well. All is done and said, and I understand; but one thing I am not well pleased with, and that is that you came here in your human body against our plans; you yourself have broken the law by so doing. I fear that your action may harm our relatives, or cause them to come here in that way."

Mä'näbus replied: "What you have

said is in one way true. You see it and think it that way, for I have made you discontented; but I understand it quite differently. I am not the same as our relatives. I came this way to explain it to you. You fear that our relatives may hereafter appear in this form because I did, but I shall never allow it to happen. They will come to you after their deaths only, never in any other manner." Mä-näbus said again: "I am always careful to tell you only the truth, and I say it over again, that it shall only be those of our parents now on earth who have been good, whom you are to receive in their shades. And first of all, those who died before you, will come here, and the ones whom you will admit are those who chose to live righteously, who were not lazy, thieves, liars, witches, or murderers. To those, and to those who come later, you shall give this privilege. You shall sometimes dismiss one of them and allow it to enter the womb of some good living woman, to be born again. This is the order of Mätc Häwätük, sent us through

the Powers Above, who are his assistants."

This is the end of the myth, but my instructor added that the rebirth of good souls is known to the Menomini, because children have sometimes been born who have had earring holes already in their ears, or were without an arm or some organ, which must have been lost in some previous life.

The modern performance of the Private Memorial Ceremony in honor of the dead takes place about a year after the actual funeral. It lasts only one night and one day, and consists in the recalling of the spirit of the deceased from the realms of Na<sup>x</sup>pat<sup>ao</sup> to receive sacrifices, as designated in the sacred myth. A person is chosen, of the same sex and about the same age as the deceased, who is to represent the dead, and in whose body the recalled shade is supposed to be domiciled during the performance. The chief mourner is the host. The relatives of the deceased prepare food and gifts,

such as blankets, tobacco, and a suit of clothes for the impersonator of the dead man. When everything is ready, the giver of the feast sends out tobacco, with invitations stating that in four days the ceremony will be held. On the fourth day, in the evening, all are assembled.

The impersonator comes a little later than the others, bringing food in a kettle with him. He waits outside until about six o'clock in the evening, when everything is ready to commence. Then a servant is sent out to invite the guest of honor in, and he enters, and sits with the giver of the ceremony. The performance, by the way, is held in the house of the host. The relatives of the guest of honor are also present, along with the other invited guests.

When everything is in readiness, an old *mitäo*, who has been invited to take charge, comes forward and makes a speech, in which he tells the reasons for giving the ceremony, and repeats the myth of Mä'näbus and Na~~x~~patäo. Then he speaks in behalf of the host, asking

Na<sup>x</sup>patäo to dismiss the soul of the deceased and allow him to come to the ceremony. Shortly after this, the old priest says: "Now the one we have asked for is here to partake of our feast and tobacco. Let us eat." He then turns to the guest of honor, who is now supposed to be animated by the soul of the deceased, and says to him, calling him by the name of the dead person: "You first sit and eat, and receive it before the others. This is for you. You have been called here and you have a little recess to receive this sacrifice, so take part with your relatives and friends."

The feast is then consumed by all those present. There are two waiters, or servants, who have been hired to pass food to all the guests. When the feast is over, the master of ceremonies arises and again addresses the guest of honor: "You are now through, you who are called from there, and we are done too. We ask you to stay until tomorrow, when we will finish in earnest, and give you another and larger feast, and your new

clothes to put on. Then we will dismiss you. You are a shade, and only here on the sufferance of Na<sup>x</sup>pat<sup>ao</sup>, but we beg you to stay until the morrow. That is what is wanted of you by your relatives."

This is the end of the night feast, and the guests are ready to depart. The master of ceremonies, however, orders them all to arise early so that the ceremony will be over by noon. "You host, get your feast ready in time, and you, guest of honor, be ready too," he insists.

The members arise the next day before dawn. The host sends relatives to the guest of honor to tell them that the cooking is being done, and that he or she is to hurry and prepare food also. Usually the relatives are ready and in the house, sitting awaiting the guest of honor, who is sent for and brought in. When the guest of honor comes, the host meets him, takes hold of him as though catching him, and makes him sit down. At the same time the relatives of the guest of honor are bringing in his food offering, which is added to the host's feast. The

host now clothes the guest of honor, and no garments are used that are not brand new; a good suit, a new hat and shoes, with a new blanket are put around him. The blanket is tied about his waist. Then the guest of honor is fed, after which the master of ceremonies repeats a speech as before, and then orders the servants to distribute the feast given for the *tcibái-winini* (shade or ghost man), "whom we have called here; and we will partake also with our comrade. This is what we told you last night," he says to the guest.

When the feast is over, the master of ceremonies then repeats what he has said before and again turns to the impersonator, saying, "You have now finished, and you are dismissed to return." He helps the guest of honor to arise and leads him to the center, still holding him, and faces him to the west. "You have now seen the feast and eaten it, and you have now seen your own relatives who begged for you. Your relatives from beyond, who came here with you, shall start back with you, and you shall all take back what

was here given you. You are well provided; your arms are filled with food and tobacco. Take it all along now, and before you go you must thank your own relatives who obtained this privilege for you. Do not tarry when you return; go straight home and be contented, and do not be angry at your relations, but appreciate it and thank them."

Then the shade is supposed to leave the guest's body and return to Na<sup>x</sup>patäo, who says to him, "Have you been to your relatives, my uncles?" "Yes, I have been spoken to by my relatives, and while I was there they gave these things. They were good to me and they wish for happiness. Here is their feast and tobacco and goods. They wish you to show your blue sky to prove your power." Na<sup>x</sup>patäo hears and accepts. He says: "Thank you, my uncle, in behalf of your people; their prayers shall be heard. I shall prolong their lives and make them happy."

All this is told to the guest of honor, who is then led once about the house,

taken outside, and faced to the west, where he is dismissed.

The public performance of this ceremony, called *Uswinauamikäsko*, or Obliteration Ceremony, is carried on inside the lodge. This is done only for men of importance in the *Mitäwin*, such as the

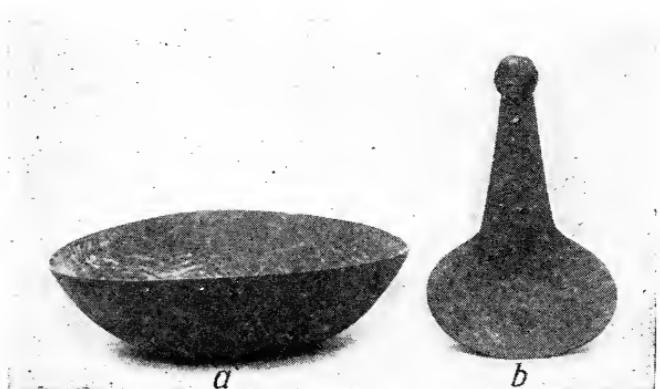


FIG. 3.—Menomini medicine-dance feast bowl and ladle. The handle of the ladle is carved to represent Mä'näbus.

leaders in the ceremonies. The main part of the ceremony is the same, but during the feast on the last day, the spoon and dish of the deceased are present, turned upside down (fig. 3). At the con-

clusion of the rite they are turned right-side up, and this song is sung:

*Kitonagan ehehehe*      Your dish  
*Wikani kanahahaha*      My comrades we change  
*Kitonagan ehehehe.*      This dish.

During the song the guests rise and dance, and the guest of honor is shot with their medicine-bags. The dish is afterward given to him. The fourth *osehau* turns the dish upright, and more food is brought in to fill it, by the relatives of the deceased. The guest of honor eats this all in memory of the dead. Frequently this performance is preceded by the initiation of the guest of honor in place of the deceased member of the lodge, the two ceremonies being combined. In this event the candidate is afterward known to the relatives of the deceased by the same term of relationship which they bore to the dead person.

After the turning up of the dish, the guests file out of the lodge and circle round it (pl. IV, a), if the grave is far off. If this is not the case, they go directly



A. Leaving the medicine-lodge for the ceremonial circuit to the grave



B. Returning from the grave frolicking to show cessation of mourning  
THE MENOMINI MEMORIAL CEREMONY



to the cemetery. The guest of honor is led to the grave, where one song is sung to the music of the water-drum. He is there dismissed. The party then circles back to enter the eastern door. Incidentally, during this ceremony, and at no other time, the performers go out of the western door of the lodge. Before returning, they form a great circle and pass about, "shooting" each other promiscuously (pl. iv, b). The entire ceremony, as usual, is under charge of the *osehauwûk*, and they receive presents from the relatives, along with twenty-five others who are leaders in the shooting ceremony, and who are mentioned beforehand as guests and mourners. Each recipient of a present has to sing a song, and this is for the goods which are hung up in the lodge. Usually these goods are in part those that have been kept in the death bundle<sup>19</sup> of the deceased, along with some of the deceased person's hair. The hair is buried in the grave at the ceremony there.

## THE USWINAUAMIKÄSKO, OR OBLITERATION CEREMONY

Mä'näbus told the people when he was with them: "While you are living, all at once you will drop your medicine-bags (meaning, 'you will die'), and cease to use them. All of you, my people, will have to die, but I want to tell you of my great gift from Those Above and the Powers Below. They gave me full power when they said to me, 'We have given you the medicine-bag to have always.'" Mä'näbus added: "Be very careful to remember what I am to tell you when one of you die who had held a medicine-bag in his hand. After his death do not neglect or throw away this sacred object, only fold it up and put it away to remain till the time (one year) is up. You shall speak of it in the meantime to the great Powers Above and Below and tell them that you have this bag left over, since the owner has departed. When you do and say that, both the Above and Below Powers shall hear it, and in order to care for him who died and his

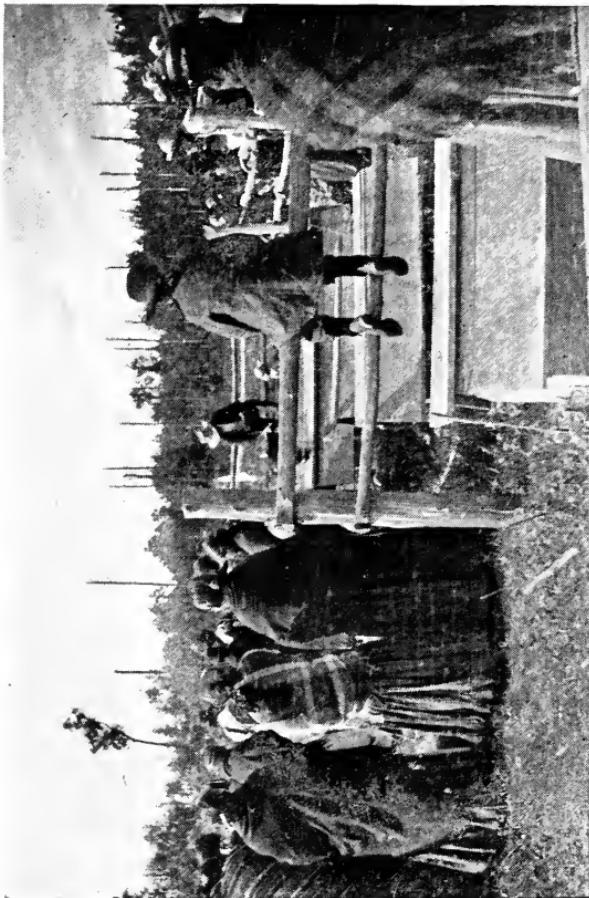
medicine-bag, you shall make a medicine-ceremony when the year is ended."

Mä'näbus taught this about the procedure for the death of a middle-aged *mitäo*. When such a one dies and is headed for the hereafter, it is not always known whether he gets there or not, as there may be some reason for his not arriving directly. It is because of some non-fulfilment of Mä'näbus' orders on the *Mitäwin* rites. In this case the relatives have to give a ceremony to help the shade along on the journey, and a medicine-lodge is erected, to which all the members are invited. The medicine-bag of the dead man is brought there too. They have a dance and a talk to the deceased, and pray to the Powers to permit him to be present. Tobacco is offered, and there is a sacred feast (pl. v). There are prayers and repetitions of the stories and teachings of Mä'näbus: how he commanded them to do this way in order to help along the deceased. They tell the shade of the deceased again about the road marked out by Na\*xpatäo, and inform him how to proceed.

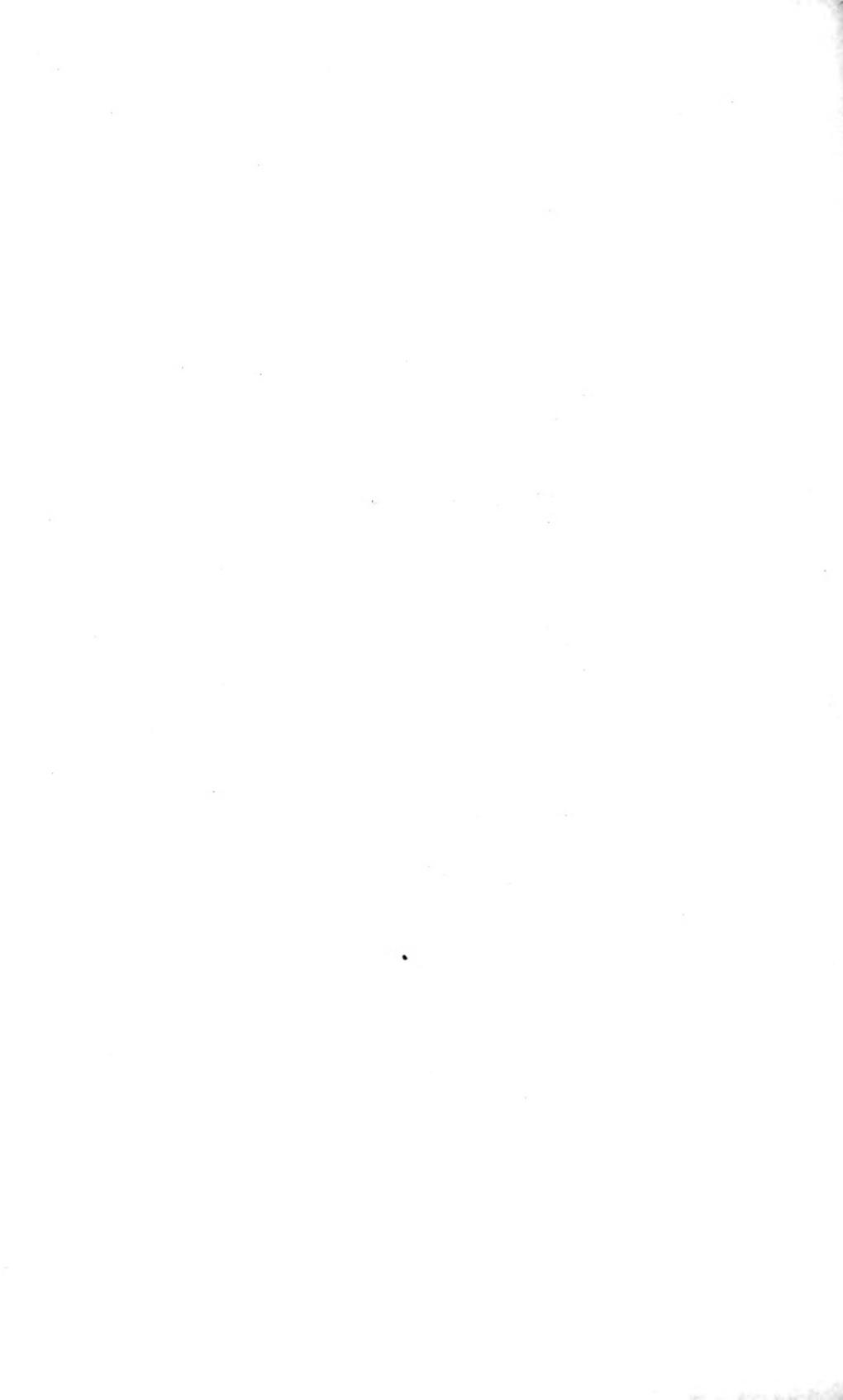
## THE YATÄPEWIN, OR REINSTATEMENT CEREMONY

The fourth and last part of the ceremonies of the *Mitäwin* is known as *Yatäpewin*, or, "receiving it twice." It is in fact a reinstatement ceremony for those who have fallen from the favor of the gods. A person who has taken the initiation twice belongs to what Hoffman calls the "second degree." In ancient times the *yatäpit*, or "degree", was sometimes taken as many as four times, but no one within recent years has gone beyond the second performance. Members are entitled to special facial paintings in blue to denote the number of degrees they have taken (fig. 4).

In beginning the description of this part of the ritual, my instructor, as usual, made an address to the gods. He said: "This address is made to Mä'näbus as is customary, for we are to speak of his teachings, and this offering of tobacco is directed to him. This our ancestors were taught strictly to do." He put down tobacco and repeated the name of the



FEAST AT THE CEMETERY DURING THE MENOMINI OBLITERATION CEREMONY



hero again, so that he would accept it and no harm would follow. Old people used thus to teach their children, sitting in the family circle about the fire. It is sacred, and comes through the Grandfathers above to Mä'näbus, and then to his Grandmother, whose words were carried down, never to be disregarded. Mä'-

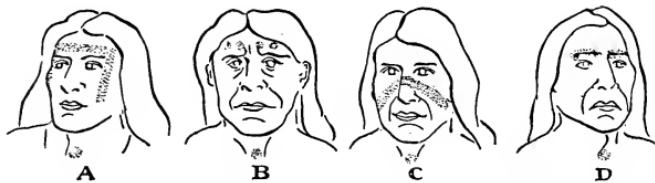


FIG. 4.—Menomini medicine ceremony facial painting of members of different degrees. (A, Member of the lodge; B, member reinstated once; C, member twice reinstated; D, member three times reinstated.)

näbus spoke about the lodge and of its ways and medicines, and established the rule that everyone wishing to obtain information had to go to someone who knew, and buy the knowledge which he had imparted. This must always be practised in the same way. Mä'näbus told his people about the right and the wrong, but he kept out the evil side of

life until the Indians dug it up themselves.

When a person who is *mitäo* (a member) is ill, he will go to a seer with tobacco, and this one will look into the trouble over night, seeing clearly in a vision what is the matter. The next day the patient goes to his "doctor", who will tell him, "The cause of your continued affliction is this, as I saw last night: it is a failure of yours to content the Powers. They are annoyed. You will be obliged to sit for a second time in the candidate's seat and be initiated into the lodge once more."

The *mitäo* will prepare himself by gathering one good new blanket, two or three shawls, and a smaller, thinner blanket, which are enough to pay for the services he requires. He does not decide as yet who is to receive them. Four to eight strips of calico are also collected. The patient now calls on the four *pucwäwük* with tobacco, and tells them what he requires. He relates the diagnosis of the *mitäwäpe*, or seer, and asks their help. "Now you go to work and prepare your

lodge, and we shall enter it two or three days from now." It is left to the sick person to choose the direction in which the lodge shall be pointed, but usually the doors are north and south (fig. 5). It is smaller and shorter than the regular lodge, and the succeeding ceremony lasts

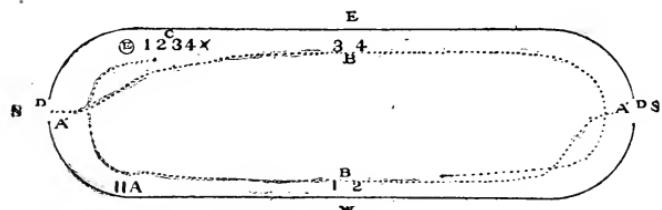


FIG. 5.—Diagram of building during the Reinstate-  
ment Ceremony. (A'-A', Points of entrance and the  
course of *osehauwük*; B, *osehauwük*; E, sick shaman; X,  
usual position of candidate; A, first position of *oséhau-  
wük* after entrance.)

only one night, commencing at sunset and ending at dawn.

The four *pucwāwāk* take charge. They consult each other and agree on the procedure, and then call their *skaupäwis*, or servant, giving him tobacco and saying: "Here is tobacco for you to go and call So-and-so. Present him with this, and

say that he is to come this evening to help initiate our patient." The *skaupä-wis* then goes to all designated, four in number, and invites them in the order named by his instructors. When they are all bidden, the first, who, by the way, received quite a supply of tobacco, perhaps as much as a quarter of a pound, divides his tobacco in two and appoints his own servant, sending him out and telling him to invite others. "Tell each one it is from us, and they are wanted for one night in the lodge, to reinstate So-and-so, who is sick." The same procedure is followed by each of the four selected as *osehauwûk* until a number of guests have been invited.

At nearly sunset the *pucwäwûk* come, and bring in their drum and rattle (pl. vi. *a-c*). They sit opposite their regular places. The first *pucwäo* has the sick man sitting beside him, and says to him: "We begin our work in all seriousness. Be very careful; think over well what will now be done to you. You say you have been told to do this because you have been ill



MENOMINI MEDICINE-DANCE PARAPHERNALIA

*a*, water-drum; *b*, drumstick used with water-drum; *c*, gourd rattle; *d*, sacred wooden dish for holding tobacco during ceremonies



for quite a long time, and you come here before us to go over this performance, this work of seating you a second time." All this time the *osehauwûk* are waiting outside.

[Here the instructor interrupted himself to say that for this occasion the white *megisêšûk* used in the first performance would not be utilized. "The medicines will be different and a black *megisê* will be used throughout."]

Goods and tobacco have been brought and put in a wooden receptacle (pl. vi, *d*) before the first *pucwäo*, who rises and says: "I am now about to speak in this way, which is one of the customary rites given us by our leader Mä'näbus, besides the regular ritual of the lodge, to which this is added. This tobacco and goods form a sacrifice for this purpose, and I speak so that they will be accepted, as we are now ready to hang them on the ridge-pole before us. These goods are offered in behalf of So-and-so, who is seated beside me, and to assist in his cure, as he is going to take it the second time. They are now

going to be hung on the ridge-pole." Then he finishes his chant and says, "I have done my part." Then he adds, "My next friend will do his share."

The second *pucwāo* rises and makes the same remarks as his predecessor, adding, "These goods have now become *mitāo* property." The other two *pucwāwūk* follow in turn. When they have done, the *skaupāwīs* hangs the goods on the ridge-pole. The first *pucwāo* then orders the servant to go out and call in the *osehauwūk* and other guests who are waiting outside. He is told to warn the two leading *osehauwūk* that when they enter one must come behind the other and they must enter the north door. "Tell them when they come in," says the first *pucwāo*, "to lead off and take the course to the left of the *pucwāwūk* on the east side [this is the reverse of the usual procedure], and to return to the north door opposite the *pucwāwūk* and stand there." This is done, and the *osehauwūk* sing together while the *pucwāwūk* beat the drum for them. When this is finished

they circle again, and stop at the south door, where they indulge in another song. Then they circle past the south door to the north door, and at last take seats at the center on the east side where they belong.

When they are seated, the other two *osehauwûk* enter through the south door and circle up along the west side, past the *pucwäwûk*, and stop on the east side of the south door where they entered. Then they go up to the north door again and stop opposite the *pucwäwûk* to sing. They then go on circling the lodge all the way past the *pucwäwûk*, past the south door, back to the middle of the west side, where they take their places opposite the other two. On their last walk the bystanders enter behind them, and circle about, taking their places. When the two enter from the north door, their guests follow. Those who came in last from the south were those invited by the *osehauwûk* who entered by that door.

The *pucwäwûk* now divide their tobacco in two equal parts. One lot of tobacco

is taken by the *osehauwûk* on the east by the servant, who continues on round the lodge, and gives the rest to the two on the west. Now the head *pucwäo* arises, and if everything has been carried out properly, darkness has just set in. He speaks to the two *osehauwûk* on the east, saying: "The tobacco has now been taken to you and prepared for sacrifice. It is for you to direct it, in behalf of the patient, to the great Grandfathers and Mä'näbus. Address it also to the Bear Below, for his presence and black *megisê* are important. Consume the tobacco here." He then turns to the two *osehauwûk* on the west side and repeats his command. "Now take charge of it," he says to them. "Do not forget about Mä'näbus and pass on the tobacco to the Gods Above, then to the Powers Below. Be sure and offer tobacco to the Bear Below, reminding him that he owns this medicine and black *megisê* for reviving and reinstating the sick."

This is done by the *osehauwûk*, who sing the proper songs for the purpose

while the *pucwāwūk* drum for them. When this is finished by those on both sides, there is a pause while all smoke tobacco which has been carried to them by servants. The tobacco is supposed to have been already spiritually consumed by the Powers.

The head *pucwāo* now arises again, and relates the entire story of how Mä'näbus got the *mitäwin*. We insert here the version of the origin myth as it is said to be chanted in the ceremonies, but which was not obtained from the instructor on this occasion, but from Thomas Hog, now deceased. It will be found to be much more compact and rhythmic than the longer version given for the instruction of candidates. Indeed, it is more poetic than any other Indian myth that the writer has ever collected.

Mä'näbus struggled for and against his Grandfathers, the Powers Above and Below; that is how the medicines came to exist. It was at the time that the Powers destroyed his brother, the White Wolf.

He chased a white deer. "Never run around near the edge of the ocean," said Mä'näbus to his brother, "for the Underneath Powers have conspired against us to do us harm." But Mûhwäse ["Little Wolf," a nickname for Na<sup>x</sup>patäo] did not obey his command. Once he chased a white deer along the shore and overtook it on the half circuit. He killed the deer, and said, "This skin will make a fine mat for my brother Mä'näbus." When he removed the hide, he looked across the ocean. At that point it was very narrow, and he could see his brother's lodge on the other side. It seemed so much easier to cross over than to go around, that Little Wolf started over the ice, but it broke and the Powers Below dragged him under. Mä'näbus heard his cries faintly as he sank.

Then Mä'näbus mourned for his brother. On the fourth day he ceased his lamentations and followed along the shores of the ocean, sobbing. At every strangling breath he drew, the water receded in the ocean. On his fourth breath

all the Powers Below came out and sat beside him. "I'll destroy all of you," said Mä'näbus to White Bear, chief of the Powers; "perhaps even you are the very one who has wounded me." Then he commenced to weep. At the fourth sob all the Powers dwindled in size to the height of a pine tree. So all the Great Ones were close together at his side. Then all the gods held council together. The Powers Above came down on the tops of the hills to meet the Powers Below.<sup>20</sup>

Then Mä'näbus retired to his lodge and lay still for four days. He lay with his face down, mourning for his dearly beloved brother. At last the Powers came to an agreement. "Let us comfort Mä'näbus," they said. Then the Powers Above, aided by the Powers Below, made a long lodge, a *mitäw'ikomîk*, above, in the sky. Then the heavens that had come down on the hilltops ascended to their former place again. Then the gods entered the lodge. The Powers Above sat on the south side, and the

Powers Below sat on the north, forming two parties. The poles of the lodge were bound together with living serpents instead of basswood string, and from the north the Power of the Wind came upon those who sat on that side, and when the Wind struck the lodge it became a mat, blue on the inside and white without, and it draped the poles. Then it came to pass that from the west came the Thunderbirds, and they covered the lodge with the Wind from their quarter. Then all the gods stripped off their animal nature as birds and beasts, and became men, and the skins which they drew from them became all manner of medicine-bags, which they hung over the poles. They filled the bags with blue paint and medicine herbs. They placed in them the *megisê*<sup>21</sup> and the *konapamik*,<sup>22</sup> for these two last carry in them the life of man on earth. Then the interior of the lodge became lined with blue clay until it looked like the sky. Then kettles filled with sacred food appeared along the sides. Then the Powers cooked, and they sea-

soned the food with a pinch of the blue sky itself. Then all was ready for the reception of Mä'näbus. But now all gods were not agreed. Some of them hesitated, for they were afraid to go and get Mä'näbus. At last Misinkäkä (Duckhawk) volunteered, "I will go and fetch him." He left the lodge and soon arrived at his destination, but Mä'näbus heard him the moment he screeched, and started. The Duckhawk lit on the top of his lodge. "Come!" he called.

Mä'näbus made no answer, but in his heart he said, "I don't want you as a messenger, yet I do not refuse the cause you represent." Then Duckhawk returned alone.

Now I turn toward the great ocean, and that of which I shall speak is heavy in portent and very sacred.

The Otter, who dwelt in the center of the ocean, overheard this conversation. He went out from his lodge and showed himself. He walked about his home four times, and on the fourth round he became very beautiful to behold; his fur

was black like a bear cub. Then, though he had not been asked, he started voluntarily and swam toward the lodge of Mä'näbus. On the way he passed a rocky islet, and there he climbed out and showed off, playing. As he came out, the rock and he himself were turned sky-blue. Then he entered the water and swam on again.

Like the froth on the waves of the ocean the *konapamik* shells floated before him.<sup>23</sup> Then Otter reached the shore and landed, with the *megisē* in his hand, and he planted it, and when he had done this he began to give his call, and on the fourth cry his voice penetrated to the uttermost confines of the heavens, and all the Powers heard him. As he reached the *mitäw'ikomik* door he was still calling, and at the threshold he paused and began to scrape up the dust and particles of earth and leaves, and to shove them inside. Then the dirt became presents to those within. When he had done this four times, and each time the sweepings he had gathered were transformed to

things of great value, he entered himself. "You have not my power," he said to the gods, "I alone can get him when you have failed."

Great was the power of Otter, for the very ground beneath him turned sky-blue, even as he spoke.<sup>24</sup> Then Otter turned and left the lodge and went straight to Mä'näbus. Mä'näbus knew from afar that Otter was coming, and he was satisfied at heart, for Otter was the very ambassador that he wanted. At the threshold of Mä'näbus' lodge Otter paused and made four piles of scrapings and passed them through the door, and they became presents.

"Why do you refuse? Why do you refuse? Hesitate no longer, you should accept," said Otter.

"I will accept now," answered Mä'näbus; "you are the one I awaited."

Then Otter left at once for the *mitäw'-ikomîk*. Mä'näbus arose and fumbled around for his pipe and his tobacco-bag, and all that was in it. He started then, and when he got to the door of his lodge

he paused to look which way Otter had gone, but he could not see him. He looked upward, and there he saw Otter's tracks leading through the sky. "What shall I do now?" he wondered. Then he took his pipe and thumped it four times on the ground, shoving downward, and it propelled him four times its length into the air. He reached the upper part of heaven and saw the door of the *mitäw'-ikomîk* where his Grandfathers sat. He entered and went around to the right. As he looked around he saw that all the members were old, old men. He saw all the medicine-bags hanging on the wall. He desired at first to walk up the left side, but he reconsidered, for he did not wish to countenance the side of darkness where the Powers Below were seated. That is why we always go to the right today. The Powers rebuked Mä'näbus.

"You are wrong; take the other side," they said. "No," said he, "I want the bright side of life for my parents to come. Why should I choose the night?"<sup>25</sup>

In the center of the lodge Mä'näbus found a robe or a blanket of blue clay (color) and there his Grandfathers seated him as we seat the candidates today. Four days<sup>26</sup> the Powers instructed him.

At the east where we first enter there was a small wigwam<sup>27</sup> containing a stone, and this became blue clay (color). The stone that was seated there was a moving power, a hero too, though it had no hands or legs. It was round, but it spoke like a human being. It took four days [years] to finish the instruction in songs, dances, and medicines. When Mä'näbus was taught, he said as he left, "Haven't you made this in four instalments, one for each night?"

"We did this because of those who are to come," they answered. "Your parents, the people, give to each of the sections a night so they can transfer their knowledge to each other."

They gave Mä'näbus some tubular bone beads. "These belong up above, and they shall be the source of your power as a *mitäwape*.<sup>28</sup> These are the *okanük*

bones. You shall sometimes swallow as many as six or eight to obtain power."

Then Mä'näbus came down to earth with all his gifts. As he reached halfway between sky and earth it became cloudy and threatened to rain. "Perhaps my Grandfathers have played a trick on me, when I thought they were in earnest," said he. He raised his otter-skin medicine-bag to test it, and pointed it four times at the gathering storm, and on the fourth time the clouds split and disappeared. Then Mä'näbus landed on the ground, and *Kokomäsa*, our Grandmother the earth, rose personified as an old lady. Then Mä'näbus built a *mitäw'ikomîk* and he and his Grandmother commenced the ceremonies as he had been taught them.

"These that you have brought, these herbs and roots, are only the hairs of my head," said his Grandmother to Mä'näbus. (That is why you must put tobacco in the hole when you dig out a medicine. It goes to our Grandmother to recompense her for her suffering when she gives them up to us. That is why all the trees are

called *metikgwopawininiu*, and they are our helpers now.)

When these things had come to pass, then the world of today began, and to this hour we do as we were instructed by Mä'näbus. First the leader in the *Mitäwin* sacrifices to the Powers Below at the opening of the ceremony,<sup>29</sup> for they first conceived the idea of the medicine-lodge. The Powers Below send their *skaupäwis*, or servant, to get the tobacco. He is all white, save his eyes, which are dark.

Next comes the sacrifice to the Powers Above; these are in four tiers overhead in a great hole in the center of the heavens, and they too send their servant to get the tobacco. And so it is carried out by us Indians as Mä'näbus has given it to us.

At the conclusion of this myth the leader sings that he is following the rulings made by Mä'näbus.

All the songs used here and throughout the ceremony are entirely different from those in the initiation performance, since they were all given by the chief of the

Bears Below, the great white Underground Bear. When this section is finished, the drum is passed to the second *pucwäo*, who repeats the performance, and then shoves the drum to the third, who does likewise and passes it on to the fourth.

Now follows a pause while the four *pucwäwûk* consult each other and plan how to proceed further. The first says, "I know such-and-such an herb medicine for the candidate to drink with his *megisê*." The second says, "I will furnish two black *megisêsk*."<sup>30</sup> The third says, "I will paint him on the breast and forehead." The fourth says, "I will furnish an otter- or a bird-skin medicine-bag." The fourth rises and announces: "We shall now go over to our comrades the *osehauwûk* and instruct them what to do." They all march south together. The first two stop at the eastern *osehauwûk*; the others continue on around and stop in front of the two at the west.

The leader says to the first of the two eastern *osehauwûk*, "You give the afflicted one to drink of *apisétcikûn* (re-

viving medicine) and *megisē*, and tell him how it came from the Great Bear Below. The second *pucwāo* said to his *osehau*, "You give him these two black *megisēsūk* to swallow. They came from the Bear Below and they are to stay in him forever. That will cure him of his trouble. Tell him so that he will understand that, in the future, when he is invited to attend a medicine dance, he must and shall vomit up what you gave him, and it shall be these underneath black *megisēsūk*."

The two *pucwāwūk* now rest and the other two *pucwāwūk* begin on their side of the lodge. "Now it is your turn," the third says to his *osehau*. "You shall paint this one, who is now *mitäwit* [candidate for the medicine-lodge], for the second time, on the forehead and the breast. The fourth *pucwāo* says to his assistant, "We are expecting you to furnish the medicine-bag of the bird kind to the candidate."

The *pucwāwūk* are now done, and return circling to their places, where they

stand. The leader says to the sick one, "Rise!" He then faces him east and tells him to walk toward the southern door. As he does so, the first *pucwäo* follows him, holding him by the shoulders. The candidate's seat has been prepared and blankets strewn in front of it, the most valuable ones lying nearest the seat. At the southern door the *pucwäo* and the candidate stop. The *pucwäo* sings and then starts off again, chanting. He continues on up to the southern door, where he stops, then sings, circles again, and stops at the left side of the southern door, where he remarks that he has done his part and advises the second *pucwäo* that it is his turn. The second repeats the performance, as also do the third and the fourth. The fourth delivers the candidate at the south where the blankets are strewn. The head *pucwäo* now gets up and says to the four *osehauwûk*, "We are done, and the candidate is delivered at the seating place, where you shall make him become your child."

Having finished, the two *osehauwûk* to

the east rise and go to the candidate and sit beside him on the east side. Then the other two get up, approach, and sit on the west side. Then the leader of the eastern pair takes medicines from his bag and undoes his little bundle of medicines obtained from the great Underneath Bear. From it he takes out *api-sétcikün*. He mixes the medicine in a *unio* shell with some water, saying: "This is what Mä'näbus received, and was told to follow by his Grandfathers. Mä'näbus gathered this medicine later on from the Bear Below. He did it in case a man should have to be reinstated to get relief from illness, and I now repeat the story."

He then makes the patient drink the medicine, along with a black *megisê*. "Now it comes to my comrade. He shall do his part by giving the sick one two *megisêsk* to swallow." The second man cries, "This shall be life to him," and does so. Then the first *osehau* on the west takes out his blue paint, saying, "This is what my great Grandparents

gave me to use for this purpose. I am preparing it now to paint this one, who is about to be reinstated. I shall add some herb medicine for him to drink, and take them and cure him and enable him to live to his natural age without further trouble from his present illness." He sings and paints the man with the same design that they used the first time. He relates how, why, and where Mä'näbus got the paint in the first place.

By this time the hour is past midnight, and the third *osehau* turns him over to the fourth, who says as he rises, "This man desires me to furnish him with a medicine-bag of the bird kind for his second initiation, and I shall do so." When he has finished, all those in the lodge cry, "Eh!"

The *osehauwûk*, being now through, take their seats, and the head *pucwäo* gets up to say: "You have done your part, and it is finished. The next that is required of us is to have some of you go up to the candidate and vomit forth your *megisêshûk* before him." The *we<sup>x</sup>noûk* (an

alternative name for *osehauwûk*) arise, and their leader says: "I shall speak to be heard. I have a *megisê* in my back, below my neck, and I shall now try to get it up." They all march in single-file round the lodge, singing, and certain of the guests who have been picked out to do this, and who are to receive a piece of calico for their services, join in and follow them.

As they pass by the candidate, each one retches to loosen his *megisê*, until all have done so. Each time as they circle about the lodge they stop at the northern door and stand there a moment. When all those who have been invited to bring out their *megisê*sûk have finished, and they are standing at the northern door, the leader says again, "Now I must make my *megisê* come out," and they start on their circling walk down the lodge, retching, and crying, "*Wehohoho!*" He vomits up his *megisê* before the candidate. All four do likewise, and then the special guests drop out their *megisê*sûk. The servant is then called to count them and see whether

they lie favorably or not. He brings a torch to see by, as it is night. The performers circle round the lodge again, leaving the *megisêsk* where they lie. On the return the leader takes up his bead, and places it in the palm of his hand just as it lay, right- or wrong-side up. He sways it before his body for all the world to see. They circle again, crying, “*Wehohoho, wehuwehu!*” This is to encourage the *megisê* so it will go where it is desired. They circle four times, and the last time they cry “*Yuhiji, yuhiji!*” and swallow their *megisêsk*. They then circle again, and at the northern door they stop and face the candidate.

The leader takes his medicine-bag, holds it before him as though it were a gun, blows on its head to prepare it by loading it with his breath, cries, “*Hihihihi!*” and starts at a trot for the candidate, stooping over with the bag held in front of him. In the meantime the head *pucwao* has gone down and stands behind the candidate, holding him by the shoulders. The leader of the *osehau* shoots at

the candidate and makes him quiver. He circles on back to the door, whence he started. There he says, "I have done my part; it is your turn." The second, then the third and the fourth follow in order. As the fourth approaches the candidate, the first dances, and sings that he will give his bag to the patient. He then shoots like the others, but, this being the fourth shot, the candidate collapses and falls. The last *osehau* then lays his medicine-bag between the shoulder-blades of the prostrate man, and leaves it there, while the invited guests repeatedly "shoot" the candidate. When they are done, the head *osehau* orders his men to take the *megisē* out. All four come to the candidate, raise his head and shoulders, shake him, and cry, "*Yohihihi!*" to make the candidate vomit up the *megisē*, which he does.

Meanwhile the three *pucwāwūk* who are sitting at their place, rise and go to the center with the drum, where they sing and beat. It is now time to dance, so the four *osehauwūk* leave the candidate

and pass around dancing. They finish, standing close to the three *pucwawuk*, who are drumming. The candidate is now raised to his feet by the first *pucwao*. He has his own *megisê* in his hand, and circles round the lodge, showing it, and crying, “*Yohoho!*” When he has returned to his seat once more, he swallows it. Then the first *pucwao* makes him vomit the *megisê* again, and circle about, showing it. This he repeats four times. He is then told by the *pucwao* that he must shoot the four *osehauwuk* who shot him. He is told to blow on his new bag and find the one who first shot him. He does so, and so on for all four. Meanwhile the three *pucwawuk* still beat the drum.

The candidate then returns to his sitting place, and all circle about the lodge dancing, and shooting each other generally. The candidate must remember each one who shoots him, and the next time they pass he joins the circle and searches for the man who shot him, to return the charge. When the drum has

passed each of the four *pucwäwûk*, they finish and sit down, and so do all the others. It should now be nearly day in the summer performance.

Then the four *pucwäwûk* rise, raise the drum, circle, going back to the east side of the northern door where the head *pucwäo*, who has joined them, says, "The shooting is over and now the drum should take its course." He begins to sing, and starts off on a walk down the east side to the southern door, where he stops and sings again. [Here the instructor interrupted himself to say, "Everything is reversed because the Bear who gave this relief to us is left-handed, and we follow him."] The *pucwäo* pushes on and goes to the northern door. The women rise and follow him. He stops at the northern door at the western side, and sings a dance song. When he is done, he returns to the southern door and sings the last song. He then passes the drum, takes the rattle and swings it. They circle again on a walk four times about the lodge.

On the last round when opposite the four *osehauwûk*, the rattle is given to the first *osehau* on the east side, the donor singing, "Hihihî," as he does so. The others, who have also been provided with rattles, give theirs up to the servant who has charge of the drum. They all circle round to their places, where the head *pucwäo* addresses the company, saying, "We have now finished, and it is up to you *osehauwûk* to begin, and we shall listen."

Then the head *osehau* begins to talk, telling them about Mä'näbus and how he had the medicines, etc., from his Grandfathers. He then sings. (Sometimes, it is said, the *osehauwûk* each sing four songs.) In the first song the *osehau* tells how he gave the candidate medicine to drink with the bead in the unio shell. No one dances during this chant. When the *osehau* has sung four songs, he starts another four, and the women rise and dance with their medicine-bags to show that all medicines are in them. When the second group of four songs are over,

the *osehau* says that he is through with all that he had to do, and adds, "Now my comrade will be next." The same four songs are sung, and the second four for dancing. There is a short pause, then the two *osehauwûk* on the east side walk to the north door and stand there. The leader begins to sing. He finishes and goes to the south door and sings again. Then he starts back to the north door, stops with his comrade, and says he is done, passing it on to his companion, saying that his companion will start his turn with a dancing song, which he does, while the *skaupäwis* who has charge of the drum beats upon it. When this is done he goes down to the end of the south door and sings another dancing song in which the women join. After this he walks round the lodge, merely shaking his rattle. He then circles again, at the door crying, "Wih!" while he delivers the rattle and drum to the two *osehauwûk* opposite, and continues to his seat.

Then the head *osehau* on the west tells about Mä'näbus, and how he received

the medicine. He sings four sacred songs, and four more dancing songs, and all goes on the same as before. When everything is done, the four *pucwawuk* order the drum brought up before them in the middle of the northern door, and all four of the *osehauwuk* stand opposite them while they sing and start out with the shooting performance again. Then all the guests arise and dance in a circle about the lodge, shooting each other as they do so. This part is not reversed in any way. The leader at the door continues to sing fully an hour, during all of which time the others dance.

When the *osehauwuk* have finished, those who have been selected to receive presents take the place of the four *osehauwuk*, who go to their own seats. These newcomers are six or seven in number. The first sings one, or maybe two, songs, while the other guests dance, and so on until they are all finished. The ceremony is now practically over, and it is probably nearly day. The *pucwawuk* now rise and take the gifts from the ridge-

pole. The head *pucwäo* then addresses the audience: "We are now finished. These goods we hold in our hands were intended by our patient to be sacrificed to the Gods Above, and they shall accept them because it was given to our nephew and teacher [Mä'näbus] in this way." Then the head *pucwäo* begins to sing, and walks to the southern door, where he stops and ceases. He is followed by the other three *pucwäwûk*. Then he starts back to the northern door, singing, and stops when he arrives there. He then says: "I have now finished my part, and I have accepted these goods [*mitäo anokw'etcikûn*, "mitäo sacrificed goods"] and have spoken my thanks. Now I pass on my work to my next comrade second to me."

Then they change places. The second speaks, saying: "I am about to thank the Grandfathers above for these goods now on my arm," and so on until all four have received their goods. They then circle and the first *pucwäo* hands one blanket to the first *osehau* in the east. The

second receives a shawl. They then continue until the west *pucwäo* receives a small blanket, etc. Then the calicoes are distributed to the six or seven others. After this, the four *pucwäwük* go to their places. The head *pucwäo* says, "We have now finished all our work."

Two kettles of food for the feast, which have been provided by the candidate, are brought in and set in front of the *tipanítcikawük* (an alternative name for *pucwäwük*). The head *pucwäo* then tells the two head *osehauwük*, one on the east and one on the west, to go over and get the sacrifice kettles and take them out. The leader from the west goes out of the northern door and the one on the east goes out of the southern door. They all rise except the *pucwäwük* and follow the *osehauwük* out of the two doors, crying their thanks to the Powers Above for their gifts and asking help for the candidate who provided them. This is begun by the man at the southern door, who commences it and is joined by the leader at the northern door. The southern leaders

and their company proceed down the west side to the north door; the others to the south door, and stop opposite where they formerly stood. They leave off singing as they pass the middle of the lodge. When they stop, the leader on the southern end says, "You, my comrade, go to the northern door, pass out with your kettle, and we will take the other kettle to the southern door." So they begin dancing, singing "*Hihih!*" and pass out. The four *pucwāwūk* and the candidate remain behind while the rest go out. This finishes the ceremony.

In concluding his remarks on this feature, my instructor added that the Ojibwa are known still to have four degrees, or *yatapit* (reinstatements), but no Menomini now living has taken more than two, although, if so ordered by a seer, any Menomini could still do so. A man who has gone in the medicine-lodge once generally has an otter-skin medicine-bag. When he has gone in twice he uses a bird, mink, or weasel skin. If he should take it three times, he would receive a panther-

or a bear-foot bag, and the fourth time, the horned owl would be used. As a matter of fact, while this is the theoretical rule, all these bags seem to be used promiscuously by all members.

The painting of the faces of the members of the different degrees was always done in blue, the sacred color, but the designs as shown in the accompanying figure are different, and various medicines which are mixed with the paint are different. Fig. 4, *a*, shows the regular paint for a first degree member; *b*, the so-called *iyatapit*; *c*, bear paint, because it is mixed with bear medicine. (At this point my instructor said that the real color referring to the bear was yellow, representing his muzzle, but for the purposes of the lodge, blue was used.) *d* shows the painting which represents the horned owl and the roots belonging to that animal which are added to make it strong. The paint in this degree is daubed over the eyebrows only, but in every case a round spot of blue is put at the base of the neck.

When a man is first initiated, a *megisê*

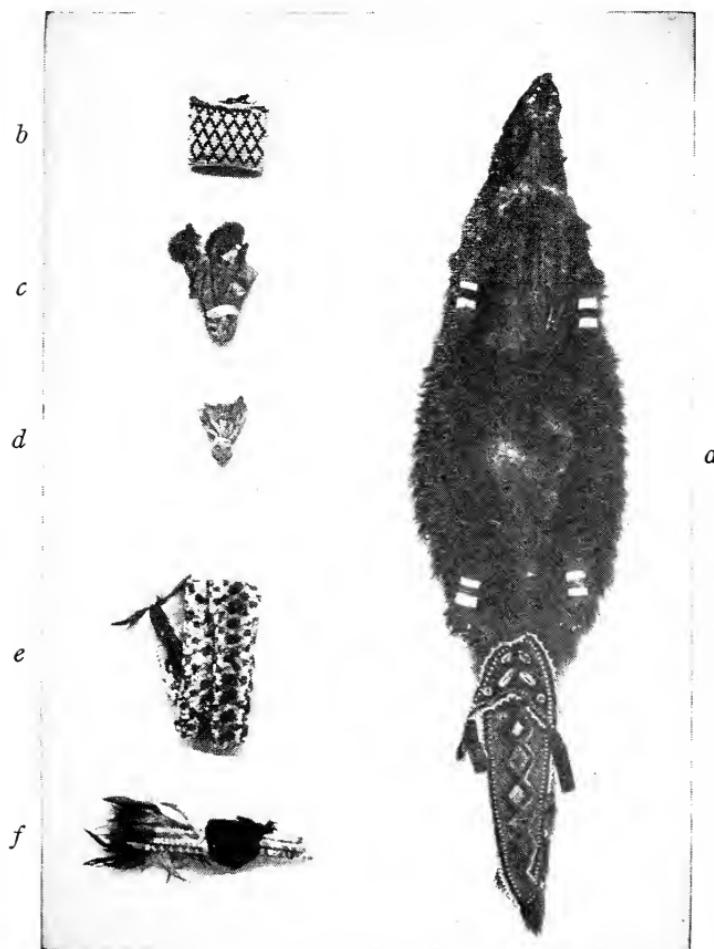
was shot into his right shoulder; the left shoulder for the second degree; the third time in the right leg; and the fourth time in the left leg. The first *megisê* is white, the second black, the third yellow, the fourth is smaller and colored both yellow and black. A man with all four of these objects in him has the highest power that can be given anyone through the *Mitä-win*.

It may be of interest to note that among the Plains Ojibwa, at Long Plains, Manitoba, information was received that they too have four degrees of the lodge, and that passing from one degree to another was done in a similar manner. They added that the medicine-bags required for each degree were different.

#### GENERAL REMARKS ON THE MITÄWIN

The medicine-bag of a newly initiated member should always contain these four medicines: First, the *kónäpämik*, or *megisê* which is the badge of the *Mitä-win*, and the so-called arrow of the bag with which the shooting is done; this is a cowrie shell

of a type obtained from the traders. I believe that in former days American snail shells were used. It is exceedingly "bad medicine" for anyone to possess one of these shells who is not a fully accredited member. The shells are always kept in the pocket formed by the left foreleg of the otter-skin, except in bags made from the skins of birds or very small mammals, when they are kept in the skull. The next medicine is the blue paint for painting the candidate. Next is the clam-shell and medicine containing the small lithospermum seed, or *megisē*, which is swallowed in the initiation, and the last is *apisétcikûn*, or the medicine for "reviving back." In addition, colored feathers should be thrust into the nostrils of every medicine-bag to show its purpose. Any amount of other medicines may be added to the bag besides the necessary four, and generally the charm given to the owner by his dream guardian is placed there (pl. VII, *b-d*). There is usually a medicine in the bag to protect the owner from witches, and to keep him from



A, TOBACCO-POUCH OF SKUNK-SKIN; B-D, MEDICINE PACKETS OF BEADS AND SQUIRREL-SKIN; C, SNAKE-SKIN MEDICINE-BAG; F, INVITATION QUILLS.  
MENOMINI.



injury should he attend a Medicine-lodge Ceremony held by any other tribe. There are other specifics for drawing *megisêšuk* from the bodies of people shot by accident or design.

One bag in the collection of the American Museum of Natural History, once the property of Oshkosh, a famous Menomini chief, is said to have contained sixty different medicines, each of which had its song; so that the bag was said to have sixty songs. Each bag has its own song in addition.

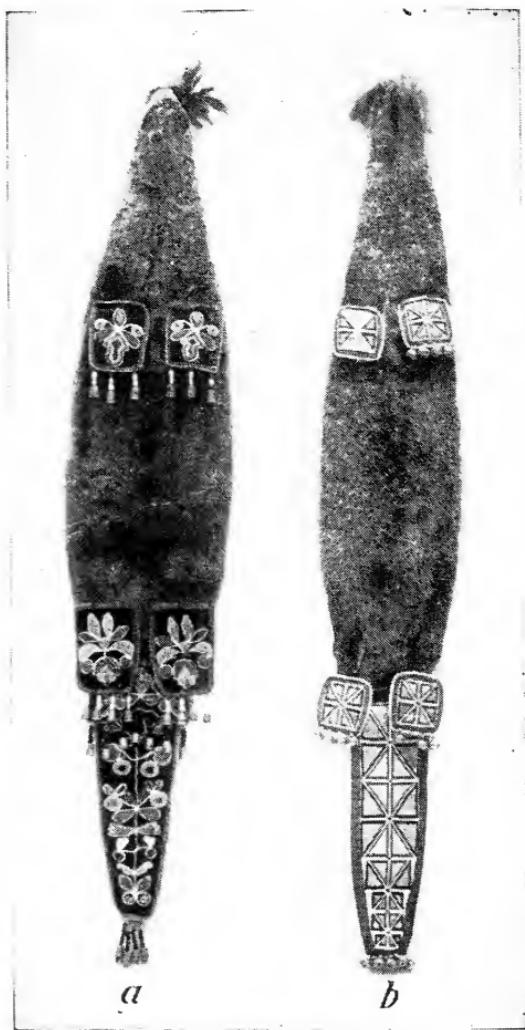
Medicine-bags may be sold to others, according to some Indians, provided the proper ceremony to pacify the gods is performed, but no *mitäo* will sell the bag that he is using, otherwise he will surely die. The only bags that may legitimately be purchased are those whose owners are dead, and they may be obtained only after the final memorial celebration (pl. VIII-XIV).

The shooting of the *megisê*, or *migis* as it is termed by the Ojibwa, is considered the most important part of the ceremony.

The bag contains powerful medicines, some of which the owner places in his mouth before shooting. Before he shoots, he thinks to himself, "I am a real and powerful *mitäo*. I own all these powers;" and if he is a sacred dreamer<sup>31</sup> he thinks of that and calls on his guardian for help. He then blows on the bag, and the essence of his power then flies into the body of the person at whom the shot is directed.

Care must be used in pointing medicine-bags. If one is shot accidentally by a bag, the bag's "arrow" may breed worms in the victim's body and the person so afflicted may die. Spectators are usually kept back from the ceremonial lodge about twenty-five feet lest they be accidentally hurt. Only special doctors can cure such a wound.

Some miscellaneous *Mitäwin* data were collected, with specimens, among them a record of instructions for initiating a neophyte. This record was carved on a piece of wood; it was obtained from Robert Päm'apämi, and was interpreted by K'séwatosê as follows: First of all, the



MENOMINI BEADED OTTER-SKIN MEDICINE-BAGS

*a*, ornamentation of beadwork on cloth ; *b*, woven beadwork decoration.



instructor (fig. 6, *a*) must paint the face

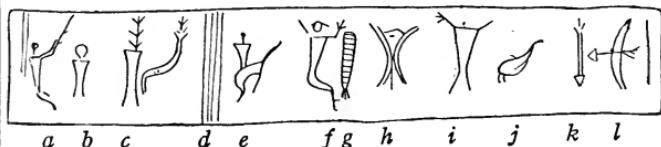


FIG. 6.—Menomini song record of wood.

of the neophyte (*b*) with the sacred blue paint, meanwhile singing:

Now you shall see this paint  
That I am about to paint  
You with, what it shall mean.

When the paint is placed on his face, the neophyte shall have the power to know the use of all roots and herbs (*c*).

Then follows the ceremony of instruction (*d*), with its sacred rites opening with a dance and then with this song:

*N'hau nisaiyä ninimikün uswapa'tah'enün yom  
wiasinükwo heyom kaiiwäsé honénün tipäkésik  
äsinükwo.*

Now we dance over this to show you what happiness this is that I have painted you over your face which resembles the heavens (blue sky).

Then the instructor (fig. 6, *e*) sits down to rest, repeating the lesson to the neophyte and instructing him in the use of the great medicine roots and herbs (*f-j*), and exhorts them to follow the straight path of life (*k*), never to deviate from it and always to tell the truth, lest death (*l*) overtake him.

A stick carved to represent Na<sup>x</sup>patäo, brother of Mä'näbus, was collected; it was made according to instructions from Na<sup>x</sup>patäo, and is used at any rite of the *Mitäwin*, especially the memorial services, or any feast or offering of any kind, such as the opening of a bundle. With it goes a tube symbolizing a flute, to show solemnity. The death rites were left with Na<sup>x</sup>patäo, who gave them to mankind. These objects must be used to show the spiritual presence of Na<sup>x</sup>patäo at the ceremony, and they are addressed as though they were actually that manitu.

Peter Fish added the following notes on the water-drum and its use:

When Indians desire to use the water-

drum, they put in about four fingers of water (three or four inches), in which they throw some tobacco as a sacrifice. They then take the tanned leather drum-head and soak it in the water until it is saturated. Then they wring it out, place it over the top of the drum, and slip the hoop down over it, to tighten it as much as possible. If the head becomes too dry, the drum is tipped up in order that the water inside may wet it. The plug in the side of the drum is to let out air from time to time. After the dance, the leather drum-head is wrung out and carefully dried in the sun.

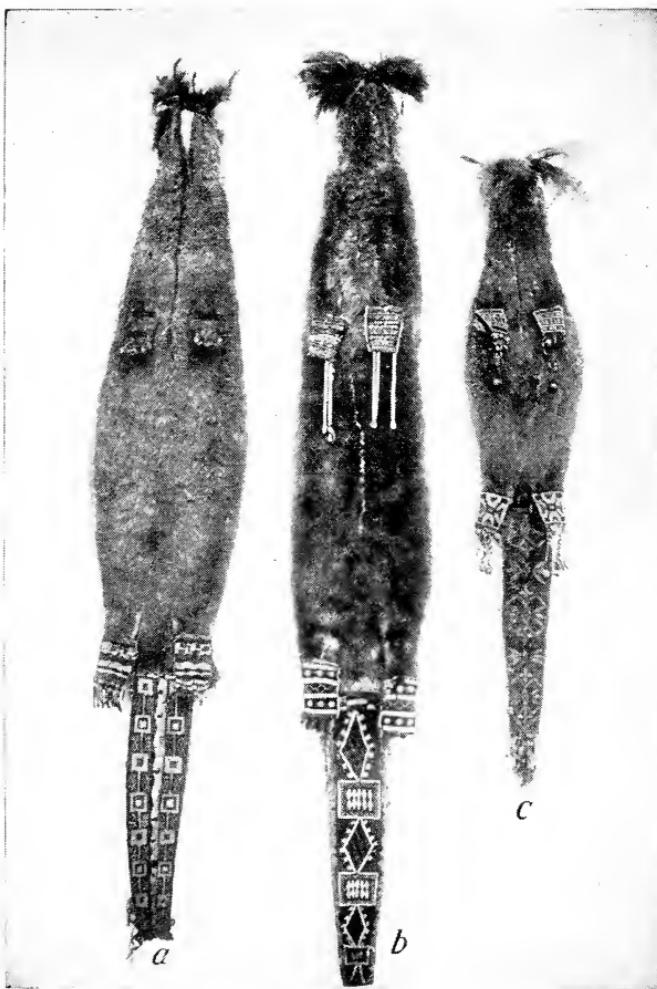
The reason for keeping water in the drum is for the sake of resonance. The drum is considered the messenger to all the Gods, Above and Below, who hear it and come when it is struck. The gourd rattle used in the dance represents the rattlesnake, because the rattlesnake also gave his assistance and medicines to Mä'-näbus.

A certain plume of dyed feathers was collected. This plume is as powerful as

a bundle, for it has a red powder called *ukémawas* inside. The owner has many gifts showered upon him, and people are afraid to offend him while he wears it, for he can read their hearts. It enables this officer to see who in the medicine-lodge have done or contemplate wrong, so that they may be ejected.

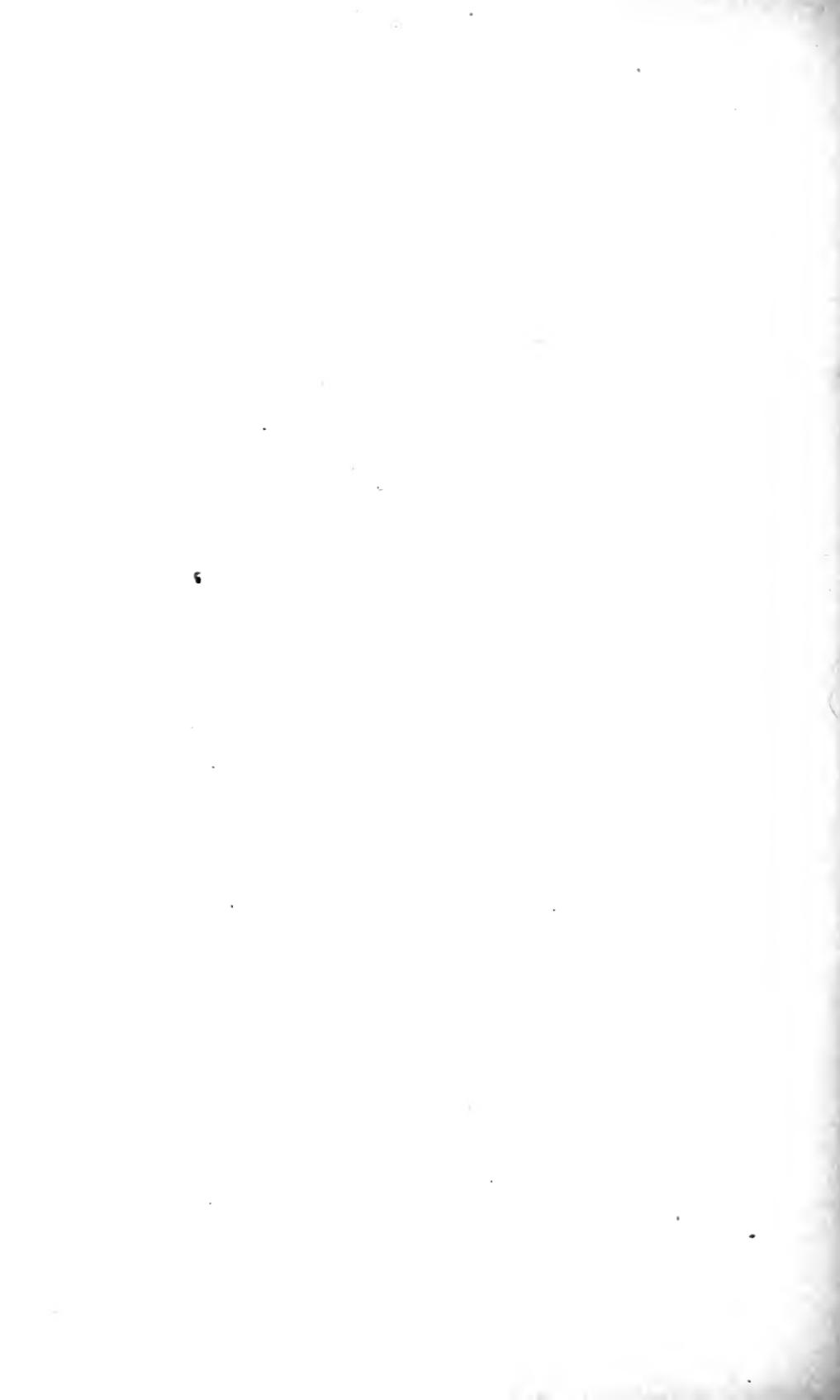
My informant assured me that age or sex was not considered in admitting a person to the medicine-lodge. The instruction received in each case by the candidate was exactly the same. The women usually choose old people of their own sex as their instructors. Women have a different group of medicines to learn, as a rule, however, and these are connected with female diseases. Sex is no bar, so far as being an officer of the lodge is concerned. A woman who has the proper knowledge may be a *pucwāo* or an *osehau*.

In concluding it is proper to include the following elaborate prayer to the gods, which is the one with which the *Mitäwin* ceremony is usually opened. The same



MENOMINI QUILLED MEDICINE-BAGS OF OTTER-SKIN

American Museum of Natural History



prayer is more or less interchangeable, and can be used on the occasion of bundle ceremonies and the like. For the sacred myths a similar though less elaborate prayer is used.

"We place our tobacco on the ground, offering it first to Mä'näbus, he to receive it and be pleased. We will pass on the same tobacco, offering it to the great cylinder above and the four great Powers that are seated about it, they to receive it and be pleased. We beg them to pass it to our great Grandfathers, the great Powers in the four tiers beneath, especially the white leaders of the two lower tiers who gave the lodge to Mä'näbus in order to still his grief for his little brother, whom they took away. Let them make it better, and pass it to those upper tiers and to those dwelling above the earth, in the four tiers of heaven. And you too, you Powers in the East, West, South, and North, be all of you pleased with this tobacco, and make our lives long and good for us, and make us strong, we beseech you. You too of the fowl kind, all the birds of the air, and you too, oh Sun, servant of Mätc Häwätûk. You who start on your daily course guarding the world as you travel from the east, observing all things, stopping all evil, and the monsters who crouch in fear of you. You too shall have tobacco that you may be pleased and help us. You too, oh Moon, who guards

the earth while Sun is gone, although it is then dark, and the monsters creep out, and the Evil One fares about. You too take this tobacco and help us."

At the conclusion of the prayer, all the auditors cry, "Eh!" This prayer was the one which was offered by my informant when he adopted me as his nephew before beginning the instruction in the rites of the *Mitäwin*.

#### SYNOPSIS OF THE MITÄWIN

##### THE SACRED ORIGIN MYTH

Owing to its complex character, the writer has thought that it might be of aid to the student to summarize the origin myth of the *Mitäwin*. It is really divided into three parts.

##### PART I

Mä'näbus, the culture-hero, was placed on the earth to render it a fit place for his future relations, the people, to live on, and as a companion, the gods gave him a wolf as a brother. Angered at a remark made by the hero, the gods below

enticed his wolf brother on the ice and drowned him.

Mä'näbus endeavored in vain to find his lost brother, and decided to punish the gods, as he suspected them. He frightened them into desiring to make peace with him, and they offered him the Medicine Dance as the price of their lives. He finally accepted.

#### PART II

The gods below, aided by those above, prepared a medicine-lodge, as shown in fig. 1. Four leaders, called *pucwäwük*, were seated at the eastern end on the southern side, and four others, called *osehauwük*, who did most of the work, in the center, two on each side. Mä'näbus sat with the *pucwäwük*, between the first and third. The four *pucwäwük* instructed him, and then the *osehauwük* gave him a medicine drink, a *megisê* bead, and a medicine-bag, and painted him. The *pucwäwük* then led him about the lodge, and seated him at the sacred seat in the west end of the lodge, where the head *puc-*

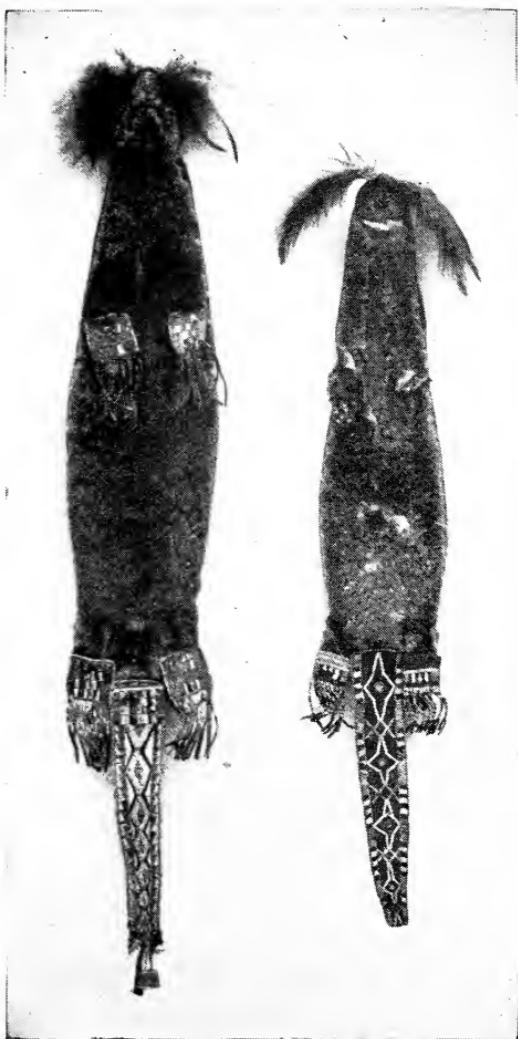
*wäo* attended him. He was then shot by the four *osehauwük* with their medicine-bags, after which the *megisësük* were taken out of him, and he was revived.

Mä'näbus was then ordered to return the shots to those who shot him, which he did, until he came to the fourth, when his guardian *pucwäo* caused him to cease, that the bead might remain in him as a guardian.

He was then dismissed with the warning that he was to obey the instructions of the gods and deliver the ritual to the people exactly as he had received it. Mä'näbus begged that the evil spirit be destroyed, but the gods denied his request. This part is similar to the performance of the initiation ceremony to-day.

#### PART III

After receiving the lodge and its ritual, Mä'näbus returned to the world, where he called upon his grandmother, the earth, to arise and assist him. The earth then arose, personified as an old woman,



*a*

*b*

MENOMINI QUILLED OTTER-SKIN MEDICINE-BAGS



and Mä'näbus taught her the entire ceremony. He also gave her the root and herb medicines to care for. He then left her, and going to a well-known locality on Menominee river, called an old Menomini and had him assemble the tribal elders to whom he tendered the rites.

#### THE INITIATION CEREMONY

The lodge opens, showing the participants grouped as in fig. 1. Near the eastern door are gathered the four presiding shamans, or *pucwäwûk*, together with the candidate. In the middle, two on each side, sit the *osehauwûk*, or second group of four shamans. These men actually lead the ceremonies. Near the western end, in the center, is the candidate's seat. The ordinary members, male and female, throng the walls.

The rites begin with a formal tobacco sacrifice and opening speech, after which comes the first really important element in the ritual, the four songs of praise and the hanging of the candidate's goods upon the ridge-pole.

Next follows a quiescent period, lasting the entire night, during which the candidate receives instruction in the "ways of Mä'näbus" from the masters of the ceremony.

At dawn comes the second important feature, the hanging of a curtain in the eastern end of the lodge, and the formal opening of the day's ceremonies with a tobacco prayer.

Next comes another vital point, the administering of the sacred drink, painting, etc., of the candidate by the *osehauwûk*. A recess follows the giving of the medicine, during which the *pucwâwûk* sing and drum. At its conclusion, two of the *osehauwûk* (the two on the north side of the lodge) return and sing, then the other two return. The *pucwâwûk* send tobacco to the *osehauwûk*, who divide it, give a prayer, and cause a ceremonial smoke to be held.

Next follows an important session. The candidate is formally led to the seat in the western end of the lodge, and is seated. The first or head *pucwâo* is sta-



DECORATED PORTION OF MENOMINI QUILLED OTTER-SKIN MEDICINE-BAG (PL. X, A) SHOWING ANTIQUE WORK AND DESIGNS



tioned behind him, holding his shoulders.

The *osehauwûk* and certain invited members of the lodge now proceed to work loose the *megisêsk*, or sacred "beads," with which their bodies are supposed to be furnished. These are examined by a servant, who reports as to whether their manner of falling on the ground is propitious, and they are formally exhibited.

Now comes the most spectacular, and one of the most important, parts of the ceremony—the shooting of the sacred power into the candidate by the four *osehauwûk*. Lining up in the eastern end of the lodge, each shaman in turn takes his animal skin medicine-bag, blows on its head, and holding it before his breast, trots down the lodge. In front of the candidate he points it, jerks its head forward, and the essence of its power passes into the candidate's body. The novice quivers, and, on the fourth shot, collapses, falling on his face. The fourth shaman leaves his medicine-bag lying on the candidate's back, for him to keep as

his own thereafter. The shamans then shake the candidate to remove all the beads from his body.

A feast is now in order, and, at its conclusion, the water-drum, hitherto kept near the eastern door, is carried to the north center by servants, and turned over to the two *osehauwûk* there. These men sing each two sets of four songs each to the music of the drum. In each case the first set of four is sacred, the second is a woman's dance tune. The drum is then taken by servants and carried regularly about the tent to the two *osehauwûk* on the south side, who repeat the performance, after which the drum goes back to the eastern door.

An important phase is now in order. The four *osehauwûk* arise and proceed ceremonially to the eastern door, where they stand in a row across the lodge, singing. A general dance follows, in which the candidate joins, and promiscuous "shooting" occurs. Immediately thereafter another notable event takes place. The four *pucwâwûk* and the candidate take

the fees of goods from the ridge-pole and distribute them to the four *osehauwük*. The candidate then sits with the two *osehauwük* on the north, while the *pucwäwük* continue to distribute calicoes to the non-official helpers. The *pucwäwük* receive no fees.

The ceremony is now concluded, and the head *pucwäo* so announces. The crowd passes out in two files, with ceremony, through the eastern and western doors, leaving the candidate and the *pucwäwük* alone in the lodge.

#### PRIVATE AND PUBLIC MEMORIAL SERVICES

The second function of the lodge is the private memorial ceremony done for the rest of the soul of the deceased. This takes place one year after the death of a member, and is held in the home of the chief mourner, who acts as host. The performance lasts one night and one day, with four days' preparation.

The rites open with the master of ceremonies, chosen for the occasion, inviting the shade of the deceased to return from

the hereafter to join the living in celebrating the services. The soul is supposed to receive permission from Na<sup>x</sup>patäo to come, and is soon present, being situated for the time being in the person of a guest, of the same sex and about the same age as the deceased, who is invited especially for this purpose.

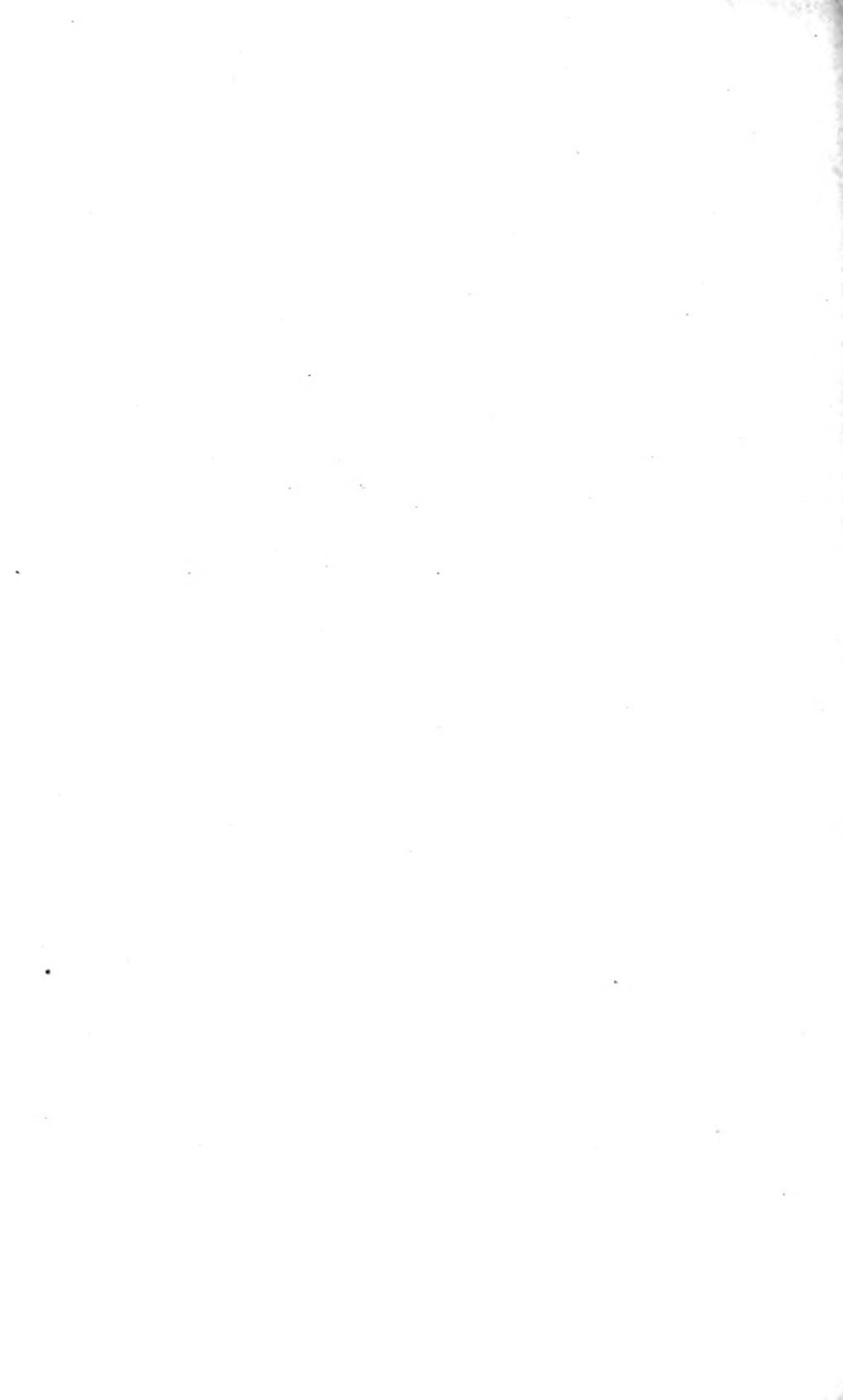
The guest of honor being animated with the soul of the dead, he is commanded to eat, after which the other guests also feast. At the conclusion of the feast the soul is begged to remain until the morrow, when it can be suitable dismissed. The first part of the ceremony is now over.

The rites recommence at dawn, when, at sunrise, the guest of honor, still personifying the deceased, comes to the house and is arrayed in new raiment and feasted. After this a general feast is given, at the conclusion of which the head shaman faces the guest west and dismisses the shade to return to the realm of Na<sup>x</sup>patäo.

The public ceremony, called *Uswinau-amikäsko*, or Obliteration Ceremony, is



DECORATED PORTION OF MENOMINI QUILLED  
OTTER-SKIN MEDICINE-BAG (PL. X, B), SHOWING  
ANTIQUE OPEN-WORK DESIGNS



very similar, except that it is done only for a prominent *mitäo*, and is held in the medicine-lodge. It is managed by two groups of four shamans, the *pucwäwük*, and the *osehauwük*; the latter, as always, taking the active part. The medicine-bag of the owner is present on the ridge-pole before the fourth *pucwäo*, and when, as often happens, this ceremony is combined with that of initiating a candidate, the novice receives this bag. At all events it may be disposed of to anyone after the ceremony.

After feasting, the dish of the deceased, which is present, inverted on the floor, in the eastern end of the lodge, is set upright and given to the guest of honor, who is then led out through the western door of the lodge (here used for exit and entrance for the only time during any *Mitäwin* performance), to the grave of the dead, if it be nearby. If not, the guest is merely led out of the lodge and faced westward. The shade temporarily animating the guest is now dismissed, and the party returns through the western

door, pausing on the way to form a great circle, about which a certain number of invited guests pass, shooting. Then the party all enter the lodge, and the *osehauwûk*, and those who did the shooting, receive presents for which they sing their thanks. This concludes the ceremony.

#### THE YATÄPEWIN, OR REINSTATEMENT CEREMONY

A person already a member of the lodge, who is ill, learns through some local seer that the cause of his disorder is his neglect of the rites of the *Mitäwin* or some other offense to the gods, and finds that he can obtain their favor and relief only by undergoing a second initiation ceremony. To this end he collects two blankets, two or three shawls, and some strips of calico. He summons four *mitäwûk* to act as *pucwäwûk*, or leaders, and prepares a lodge. The *pucwäwûk* send tobacco, inviting four other shamans to act as *osehauwûk*, and they in turn invite the guests. Probably this is the regular method of sending out invitations.



MENOMINI QUILLED OTTER-SKIN MEDICINE-BAGS



At sundown on the appointed day the lodge is ready and the ceremony begins. The order of seating is reversed, the *pucwäwük* are seated with their drum, opposite their usual place; and the lodge, instead of being oriented east and west, is set up facing north and south. The *osehauwük* remain outside.

The candidate sits with the *pucwäwük*, who warn and quiz him. Then the head *pucwäo* opens the ceremonies with a speech and a chant, which his three companions continue. This is to consecrate the gifts, which are then hung on the sacred ridge-pole by the *skaupäwis*, or servant.

Two *osehauwük*, followed by a number of guests, enter by the northern door and circle to the east. Reversing the usual procedure, they return to the northern door and stand opposite the four *pucwäwük*, and there sing, after which they go to their proper place, the east center, where they sit. The other two *osehauwük* then enter the opposite door with their retinue of guests, and go through the same performance.

When all the *osehauwûk* are seated, the *pucwâwûk* send them tobacco, which they sacrifice to the Bear God below, and all smoke. This is the second prime factor of the celebration.

The head *pucwäo* now drums and chants the origin myth of the ceremony, passing the water-drum down the line to his three associates, who follow suit. They then consult, arise, and go to the *osehauwûk* in the center, whom they instruct as to their duties toward the candidate.

The *pucwâwûk* now return to their place and thence lead the candidate once around the lodge, the fourth placing him on the candidate's seat, where the leader remains behind him to advise him. This is the third important feature.

Next comes the fourth great part. The candidate receives the sacred draft and the *megisêshûk* (black ones are used for this ceremony), and is painted (fig. 4, b). After this the four *osehauwûk* and certain invited guests first loosen, then vomit up their *megisêshûk*, which are inspected by

the *skaupäwîs* to see if they have fallen propitiously, and are then exhibited.

After this comes the important moment when the four *osehauwûk* line up in the end of the lodge opposite the candidate, and shoot him, exactly as was done in the first degree. The last one knocks the novice prostrate and leaves his medicine-bag on the candidate's back. The candidate is then shaken to get forth the *megisê*.

Now the three *pucwäwûk* who have remained behind at their own place to drum and sing, come to the middle of the lodge and continue. The four *osehauwûk* join them, and the candidate is revived, a notable feature. He then exhibits his *megisê*, is made to swallow, remove it, and again exhibit it, after which he in his turn shoots the four *osehauwûk*, and the spectacular general shooting performance takes place.

The *pucwäwûk* now return the drum, and it is carried about the lodge four times, the *pucwäwûk* stopping at the doors to sing. They are followed by the

women, who dance. After this the same performance is gone through to the sound of the gourd rattle. The rattles are then turned over to the servant, except that held by the leader, which is given to the first *osehau*.

Then follows an important part. The *osehauwûk* each in turn discourse on Mä-näbus, and then sing two sets of four songs each, the first set being sacred, the second women's dance songs. After this the drum is placed in the north center, and the four *osehauwûk* stand opposite the *pucwäwûk* and sing, while a dramatic general shooting ceremony takes place. The ceremony concludes with the distribution of fees by the *pucwäwûk*, and a feast, after which all exit as in the first degree.

It will be observed that the skeleton of the function throughout is very similar to that of the first-degree initiation, though the ceremonial progress about the lodge and other features are reversed.



DECORATED PORTION OF A MENOMINI OTTER-SKIN MEDICINE-BAG (PL. XIII, B), SHOWING ANTIQUE QUILLED DESIGNS



## THE IOWA MANKÁNYÉ WACI, OR MEDICINE DANCE

### ORIGIN MYTH

This ceremony started below where the sun rises, in Mokácutzi (the east), where there is the great green sea (Dje'to). The forefathers said that the earth and all the elements were made by Wakanda, the creator. He made us, the people, and all things that are possessed of life—the trees, the herbs, the weeds, the grass, and he gave to each a use. All the fowls that fly are his work; all the insects and things that creep and crawl on and in the ground. So he is called *Mao<sup>n</sup>*, the Earth-maker.

A being was sent from above to the forefathers, who said: "I am the son of God.<sup>32</sup> Since you Indians are destined to live in the world, I have been sent to instruct you. I bring you fine clear days, days without clouds. That is the first gift I have for you. I shall make it so

you can see spider webs between the heavens and the earth.<sup>33</sup> I bring also food for you. I give you the green leaf, tobacco, for you to plant and raise, to use to make peace and to worship. It must always be kept by you. Maize also I bring you, Oh people! Little round spotted squashes are to be yours. All these things I have fetched you, Oh people! I give you light showers, and cool, cloudy, and foggy days. Such days are 'otter days,' for then those sacred animals shall come out. Now also I shall give you a long *tcíthredjé* [medicine-lodge], with its door facing the sunrise."

Then the being showed them, the fore-fathers, the bark cords used to tie the lodge-poles together. He showed them how to make earthen kettles to cook food for their medicine feasts.

"This is why I gave you food," he said. And even as he spoke, Lo! there lay before him all manner of game animals, already cut open, with their vitals cleaned and exposed.

"Now I shall tell you the rest of what

you must do, and what I shall tell you shall come to pass, and it shall last as long as this earth."

Then the being selected four of the ancestors, two men and two women, and he placed them at the four corners of the medicine road, in the east, north, west, and south, of the road that runs from right to left.<sup>34</sup> Then the being vanished without further words. He had given authority to these four to conduct the dance, and to give it its name, and he was to give them power and teach them its rules through their visions: they were to be his servants.

Yet there was one thing which they had not, and which he had not given them as yet, and that was life. So the four took their places, and when the spring began to open, before the grass had started, they traveled all over the world, searching for life. They followed streams and rivers, they crossed the deeps; they even tasted of the roots, the herbs, the leaves, and the trees.

Everywhere the four sought it. They

tried all over the dry land, and even descended under the water, but they could find nothing on this earth, so they ascended into the heavens. They hunted all over on high, yet were they not satisfied, so they returned once more and scoured the earth, and even beneath it. At last they said to one another:

“We have hunted for life, but we cannot find it. Perhaps it lies in the lodge and its ways. All we can do is to worship our creator and struggle along on our existence. When we cook food we must let its savor arise to the nostrils of our Great Father, the creator, and pour out the grease on Ixúixiwi, our mother, the earth.<sup>35</sup> What we forefathers say and do now shall be the law for those who are to follow us.”

#### TCEKÊUYOKÊ, OR INITIATION BY PURCHASE

This is the regular initiation ceremony for the raising of a new member, whether man, woman, or child. Three other types of initiation are possible, namely,

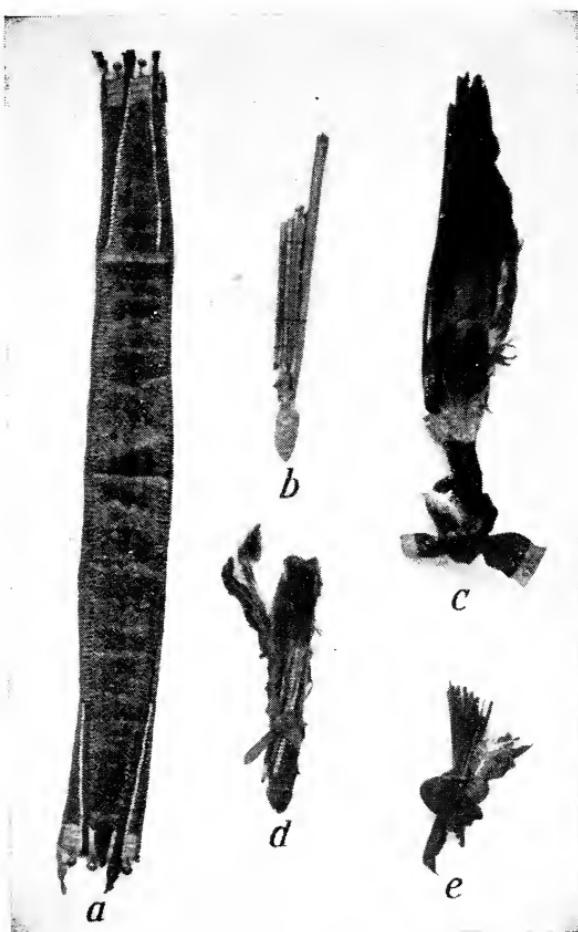
initiation in the place of a deceased member on the ante-mortem suggestion of the late incumbent; initiation in the place of a deceased member at the candidate's request; and the initiation of a brave on the conclusion of a successful war-party, by presenting a medicine-band leader with a scalp. All these forms will be discussed in connection with this subject at the close of the description of the regular rites.

If an Indian wishes to join the medicine-lodge, he makes application to the leader of whatever band he prefers to join. In so doing, he says:

"I like the ways of the Medicine Dance and I'd like to join." The leader replies: "I shall not ask you to join, but if you desire to, of your own free will, you will have to try hard to get a large quantity of food. Get something to put down [a lot of blankets or, anciently, buffalo-robies, to be used as presents to the leaders, etc.] on the floor of the lodge, then come to me, when you have found all these things, and we'll put up the lodge.

" You must also have a tanned deer-hide ready to make the drum-cover. When you are all prepared, then come and notify me, and I'll sing all night where you can hear me, so that when you join, my songs will be yours."

The candidate (*tcékieoké*) then gathers a quantity of goods (blankets, robes, garments) which are acceptable to the band-leader. This often takes some time, especially as the leader may, if he chose, repeatedly reject the offerings until he is satisfied. When all is ready, according to his promise the band-leader sings all night in the presence of the candidate (usually in the leader's own lodge, or in the medicine-lodge itself) and a waiter or a servant, and the rest of the leader's band, who have been notified by means of the usual invitation quills, or else a number of little dogwood twigs (pl. xv, *b, e*) sent out, one to each member, by the leader. The singing and instruction continue all night and all next day. Quick exits and returns for natural duties only are permitted.



## IOWA MEDICINE PARAPHERNALIA

*a*, snake-skin belt or shoulder sash worn by members of the medicine ceremony; *b*, invitation quills and drumsticks; *c*, eagle-wing fan carried by performers; *d*, headdress of ceremony members; *e*, invitation sticks and bundle of tobacco.



In the morning the leader calls all his band to assist him in teaching the candidate.

"When you join our society you must respect it and attend carefully to what you do," he says. "This dance is life, the new life that you gain. Here is this road in the lodge, and this fireplace;<sup>36</sup> you must respect them and this building. Wakanda above looks down on you and you are standing on the Earth, your mother, who is looking at you also; so again I ask you to respect this ceremony. Whenever you come into this dance, remember that you are not supposed to sit. You must keep moving, carry your otter-skin, and thank all those who are present. That is the way to show your respect."

The members of the band which the candidate is petitioning to join seat themselves in the east of the long lodge, with the neophyte on the right of the leader, whom henceforth I shall call the east leader (fig. 7).

As the other bands appear in the morn-

ing, they enter in due form, making the regular four stops and songs, and thanking those who have preceded them.

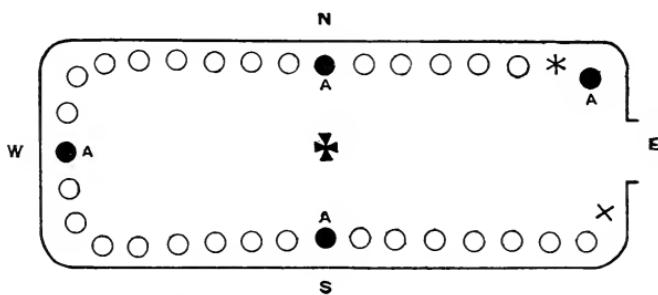


FIG. 7.—Diagram of Iowa medicine dance. (A, A, leaders of the bands; \* candidate; O O members; X fireplace; X waiter and assistant.)

They sit, as usual, in order of their arrival, in the north, west, and south. When all are seated, the east leader, without rising, thanks them all, and continues as follows, at no time stating definitely that the candidate desires to join the society, but merely hinting to that effect. "Our friend here has brought these things as an offering to us. He likes our ways, and he likes us, so he has provided this feast for us."

When he has finished talking, the east

leader calls upon the waiter to carry the drum to the north leader, who in his turn discusses the feast and gifts provided by the candidate, remarking that the newcomer "may not get any benefit from this, but he likes our ways. Therefore, he must act kindly toward all people." After thanking those present, the north leader sings seven or eight songs "standing still," while his band makes four ceremonial circuits of the lodge, throwing out their upturned palms and thanking all the others. When they have finished, the east leader gets up and leads the candidate round the lodge to thank the members. When they have made the circuit, they are seated again in their places. The other three bands now all dance "standing still."

This is repeated by the west and south bands in an identical manner, and then the east leader takes the floor once again, and talks still another time of the candidate and his feast and offerings. He says, in part: "This man wants the road. He may think it is a great thing, but it

is not.<sup>37</sup> He may want to eat our food the rest of his life, but that is nothing at all."

One after another, all the band-leaders orate in a similar strain. Then the east leader goes about the lodge and whispers in the ears of the other three leaders, asking them to select two members of each band to vomit forth the sacred shell. As he passes on, each band-leader confers in whispers with his associates.

The east leader then causes the candidate to arise and take his gifts on one arm, while the east leader takes him by the other arm and conducts him four times round the lodge, thanking all the members. If the candidate has kin present, they arise and accompany him and help him thank the others. This is done in order to show that they are supporting him in his attempt to gain admission.

After the fourth round the goods are spread on the floor in the east end of the long tent, and the candidate returns to his place. The east leader then announ-

ces that all is ready, and calling each of the other band-leaders by name, asks them to cause their shell producers to perform (fig. 8, *b*). Each leader then has the two shell producers whom he has

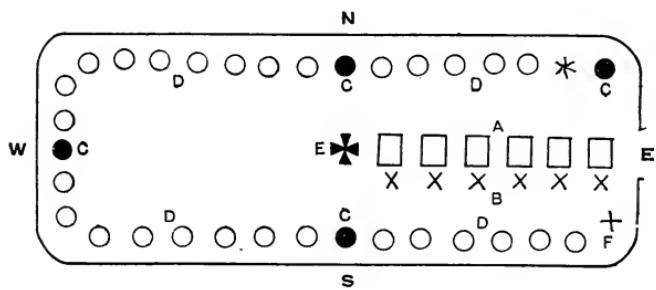


FIG. 8.—Diagram of Iowa medicine dance. (A, blanket spreads; \* candidate; B, shell producers; c, c, leaders; D, D, members; E, fireplace; F, waiter and assistant.)

selected, be they male or female, arise. The two belonging to the north band first make four ceremonial circuits, thanking the others, and take their position at the eastern end of the array of gifts. On their fourth round the two western-band performers rise and follow, taking their position next to the north-band couple, and lastly the south-band people do the

same. Then the first shell producer (we will say that all the performers are women, for the sake of variety) thanks all present and lays her otter-skin before her on the blanket spread there, and so on, until all six have done the same. Then the first shell producer kneels on one knee and thanks those gathered, and the others do likewise. Then all six thank the other members, and proceed, one after the other, to cough or vomit up the sacred shells, with which they rub themselves. (At this point, my informants, Dave Towhee and Joe Springer, interrupted the thread of their narrative to say that young people were never chosen to perform these rites, only those of mature age being taken.)

All six now rise with the shells in their hands. Had they been men they would have begun their prescribed songs, but, as they are women, the first says: "I can't sing very well. I thank you all, but I want my leader to sing a song for me." This, of course, is a purely formal excuse, as the woman may be a famous

singer. The leader, however, comes around and stands beside her, with his otter-skin in his hand, and asks the east leader how many times he shall sing. The east leader answers, "Four." On the last song, the woman circles the lodge, showing her shell, held in her upturned left palm, to all present. Then she takes her place at the foot of the line, which, accordingly, moves up one point, so that when all have performed, each will be back in her original position. The leader now goes back and seats himself.

The second woman now speaks and asks her leader, the same who has just been seated, to sing for her. He replies, "*Hau!*" and comes around beside her, when he asks the east leader how many songs he shall sing. This time the answer is, "Three."

For the shell vomiters of the west and south bands, the same performance is carried out, save that the west leader sings two songs for each of his women, and the south leader but one apiece.

Then all six women circle the lodge four times. On the first three rounds they thank the other members, on the fourth they cry "*Oioioioioi!*" and as they get back they swallow the sacred shells once more, and fall down as though dead. All the others hold their otter-skins before their bodies, as though about to shoot, all quivering.

In the meantime the east leader has had the drum carried to the north leader by the waiter and his assistant, and a dance song is commenced. The performers arise, and all the members commence "shooting" all members of bands other than their own. This lasts during the singing of six or seven songs. Then the north leader makes a ceremonial circuit, followed by the north, west, and south bands, stopping at the four ceremonial points and returning to his original post. At each pause he gives the ceremonial cry, and the attendants shake their rattles. Now the women all sit down, and the north leader circles again, pretending to stop at each cardinal point.

This is repeated in turn by the other bands, save the east, which continues passive. All this time the waiter is still beating the drum. At last all are finished and the east leader once more has the floor. He preaches for a while, then orders the waiter and his attendant to bring in the food. When this is done, he tells them before which leaders to place the several varieties of food. Then all the leaders talk at once, haranguing on how they joined, what they paid for the privilege, what they could do, what they could say, and about the ways of the forefathers. They also sing four songs. Then the distinguished man, whoever he may be, to whom the east leader has ordered the waiter to give the head of the principal animal utilized in the feast, speaks in a like strain.

A silence now falls, and the north leader chooses a man or woman from his party to act as waiter for his band, and so on, around the lodge. Three or four kettles of food are set aside to be given to four distinguished non-members whom

the waiter is sent to invite in, and one kettle is sent outside to be given to some chief or brave and his friends. There is a further thanksgiving ceremony, and the candidate also thanks all the members present. When the members thank the others, new members must rise and go round to thank everyone personally, but members of four or more years' standing may call out their thanks from where they sit on their mats. All then fall to. When the feast is over, the east leader gives orders for the last man who came in to lead the way out, so all pack up their bowls and spoons and pass out dancing. As they reach the door, each turns about and thanks the east leader. This ends the first day's ceremony.

In former times the candidate was required to give one feast to the society each year for four years. Now admission is gained in two to four days. The second day's performance is practically identical with the first. After it is over, the east leader says to the candidate: "You must now blacken your face with

dirt or charcoal and see what you can learn by fasting. You may be vouchsafed some knowledge of the herbs and roots. The servants of Wakanda [the lesser Powers Above] may give you good news. They may show you even some of the hidden mysteries of the lodge."

On the third day still another feast is prepared by the candidate, and the east-band leader confers with the leaders of the other bands. He says: "This man wants to join. Take pity on us and help us take him in." Probably this council is after the ceremony. They then decide that the man now acts like a member; they have looked into his eyes and have judged by his actions that he would make a good member.

There seems to be some confusion in the informants' statements as to the exact nature and sequence of events at this point. This is no doubt caused by the fact that, whereas in former times it took a candidate four years to enter, the procedure is now shortened to four days, or, as sometimes happens, even to two

days. This would account for the statement that after the third feast the candidate was given four days to prepare himself and his clothes and gifts for the final initiatory rites, this doubtless being the rule when his final elevation to the rank of a member of the society was done in the fourth year.

For the four days' ceremony the candidate has provided a large quantity of food, a whole new suit, and ten blankets, or, as was formerly the case, robes of buffalo, elk, bear, and panther, and otter or eagle skins. A support, or rather a horizontal bar, is placed in two forked sticks before the door of the lodge, and on it these fees or gifts are hung. Should several candidates be joining simultaneously, each has his or her own bar with its burden of presents. When everything is in readiness, the members repair to the lodge, and the east leader orders the waiter and his assistant to prepare a sweat-lodge. For this they procure willow to build the frame, and four stones are taken and heated in a fire a little way off.

They also prepare a cushion of sagebrush and dry white grass, chosen because its color is symbolic of the old age which the candidate will attain through membership.

The waiter then informs the members that the sudatory, which is placed near the lodge, is ready, and the members come forth and sit on the ground in a ring between the sudatory and the medicine-lodge, in the prescribed order of their bands. The waiter meantime covers the lodge with a new blanket, provided by the neophyte, and which will go as a gift to whoever is appointed master of ceremonies in the sudatory. He also has ready a new bucket, also provided by the candidate, to hold the water. In former times a ceremonial sweat-bath, identical with that about to be described, was held before each of the four parts of the ceremony. Now it seems only to be held on the fourth day.

The east leader selects and names one of the other leaders (I believe he customarily takes the north leader) to be master

of ceremonies in the sweat-lodge, and for the rest of this section on the sudatory he will be referred to as east leader, since he occupies that post. Then two or three of the members of each band, both men and women, strip and enter the sudatory<sup>38</sup> one at a time, in order after their leaders, who enter in succession, and sit down within in the same order as they would in the medicine-lodge. The master of ceremonies, being the east leader, who enters last, on this occasion, with the candidate, and the other leaders and their parties, are disposed to the north, west, and south, in the order of their entrance.

The bands being seated, the east leader begins a speech. He thanks all present, and discourses of Wakanda and his goodness, after which he sings what is called the "long song." He may sing two of these; then he sings two dance songs. All this time he pours water on a hot stone which has been brought in between two green sticks and deposited there by the waiter. The east leader also tells where he received his authority

to perform these rites. When he is through, he passes his pail to the north, where that leader gives a similar discourse, sings two "long songs" and two dance songs, sprinkles the water on a fresh hot stone brought him for the purpose, and passes it on to the west and thence to the south, where in both places similar observances are carried out. This concludes the ceremonial sweat.

When four sweats are taken, one preceding each night's or year's ceremony, the candidate moves from the right of the east leader to the right of the north, west, and south leaders on succeeding nights.

#### FINAL RITES: INVESTMENT OF THE CANDIDATE IN THE BRUSH

On the last night, when the candidate enters the lodge he is turned over, "given away," by the east leader to the north leader, who assists him to dress in the gala garments which he has provided for the occasion. Then, before the first dance, the north leader takes the candi-

date by the arm and marches him round the tent back to his place, where he dances, stationary, when the others begin. The rest of the ceremony is the same as usual, except that, just before dawn, the east leader, the waiter, and one of the east band, go out to a secluded place in the timber, where the leader makes a large fireplace. During their absence the others take a recess to sleep. When they have completed it, they return and inform the other leader where it is.

At daylight all rise and tell the east leader and the candidate to proceed to the secret fireplace and they will follow. All are told to bring thread, awls, etc., along with them, and to have ready any old rotten medicine-bags which they wish to throw away, for a "new man is coming." The idea is that it is taboo to mend or to refurbish the medicine-bags except at such a time. No matter how badly an otter-skin is torn, it cannot be mended or thrown away or a new one substituted until the members meet in the secret

brush when a new candidate is coming in. At this time also those who have prepared new quill- or bead-work for their bags exhibit it to the other members and announce that they are about to use it. Customarily, food is brought over to the hidden fireplace, but there is no rule requiring it, and it is always secreted about the persons of the women who fetch it. In passing, it should be observed that the fireplace is purely symbolic, and is never used.

When all have assembled and are seated in regular lodge order, the candidate sits to the right of the north leader who now sits in the east as master of ceremonies. The waiter retires to a distance, and all commence to paint and dress and mend their otter-skins. No one paints another's face or mends an otter-skin for nothing. Heavy fees are expected, and usually a person has a relative do the work, if possible.

Facial painting is usually done with red or sacred blue paint, or with white clay from mole hills—circles and semi-

circles about the face for the men, while the women make four spots on each cheek with the first two fingers of the right hand to represent otter tracks. The heads of the otter-skins are also painted blue at this time. At noon food is provided by the women members, and all pray and eat.

After this all dance, but no rattles or drums are used. For this performance they all stand in a circle. Each leader in regular order, beginning on the east with the present master of ceremonies, lays down a robe in the center, and instructs the candidate concerning the history, secrets, and rites of the lodge, especially the hidden mysteries of the sacred shell and its use. They tell him at this point, among other things, the story of the "otter hunting," which will be found at the end of the description of the lodge.

They then make a seat for the candidate, after asking whether he prefers to sit or to stand, as it is his right to choose. Then a man or two from the north band,

whose leader is master of ceremonies, stand behind the candidate and hold him. The north leader then stands in front of the candidate and feigns to shoot him three times with his otter-skin bag. On the fourth he does shoot, and the candidate falls flat. Presently the candidate rises and shoots the master of ceremonies, and this performance is repeated until the candidate is thoroughly accustomed to the method of using his pouch in shooting.

Now all return to the medicine-lodge, leaving behind their bundles for the waiter to gather and bring after them. In returning, the society divides in halves, two leaders and their bands on each side. Then they go trotting home in a spiral course. Whenever the two bands get opposite each other, those on the south side shoot at those on the north, always taking care to see that their otter-skins are pointing northward (fig. 9).<sup>39</sup>

It should require only four rounds of the spiral to take them back to the lodge from the brush. As they approach, the

*waiakida*, or soldiers, drive the crowd back with whips to a safe distance, out of range of shots from the medicine-bags.

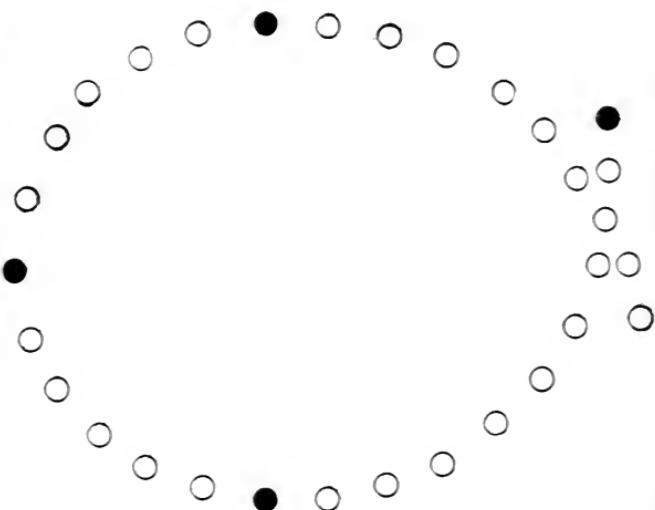


FIG. 9.—Diagram of Iowa medicine dance. (● leaders; ○ members.)

When they arrive at the lodge, the four band leaders sing four songs each, just outside the door, while the members continue to dance and shoot each other. Then they enter, and the candidate is led around to thank the members. Then he is caused to stand on the south side of

the door, facing north, and the leaders each arise and lecture him:

"We give you more days [years] to live. We give you life. You must be good and you will survive to have a white head and to see your grandchildren."

Then the ten robes or blankets provided as payment by the candidate are spread in front of them, and a bridle, signifying that the candidate has also been given a horse, is laid on them. Now all the clothes on the candidate go to the north leader, who acted as master of ceremonies in the brush ritual. These should consist of feathers for the head, ear-bobs, necklace, handkerchiefs, shirt, arm-bands, leggings, garters, moccasins, and breechcloth, with a blanket to throw over the shoulders. The rest of the material is divided among the north, west, and south leaders. The east leader, having received a new member into his band, is supposed to be content with that. However, each day of the ceremony the candidate has been required to "place a blanket under the drum," that is, he

has given the east leader a blanket metaphorically for this purpose, but which became the property of that worthy. The north leader also, as a matter of fact, usually gives the east leader a present out of his gains. It is customary also for all the leaders to make gifts from their fees to old and prominent members of their bands. The initiation usually costs the candidate, in food, blankets, and other presents, several hundred dollars by our reckoning.

When the candidate takes off his new suit in the lodge to give it to the north leader, he is furnished with cast-off blankets in which to wrap himself. The garments are bundled up in the new blanket which he wore on his shoulders, and turned over to the east leader, who delivers them.

The waiter now brings in food, and the east leader orders him to carry out the drum and gourds and hang them up out of sight.

The feast consists of the best food obtainable, such as buffalo, deer, elk, ant-

elope, bear, turkey, corn, and pumpkins. There was one special ceremonial dish, however, that was formerly of prime importance, although Springer, himself a leader, has never seen it brought in during his time. This was a corn-meal cake in the form of an image of some large game animal, which was brought in a painted box-shaped parfèche and deposited in the center of the viands. If the east leader had ever given the lodge a feast of the flesh of an animal of the kind represented, it was his privilege to handle, carve, and distribute it. If not, the rite passed to the other leaders in rotation, and then to the common members until a properly qualified person was found. If no one could present the proper credentials, a brave was chosen.

The person who finally did the carving, first announced, "At such and such a time I gave the lodge a feast of this sort, and therefore I am privileged to butcher this animal." Then he could divide the cake himself, or pass the knife to someone whom he chose as his assist-

ant. The "butcher" had a lot of little twigs or sticks which were laid on the cake in such a manner as to show how the cuts were to be made, so that each member might receive a portion. The cuts indicated had to be followed scrupulously in the division. The task of carving is said to have been extremely difficult.

The food is now all set before the members, and all the leaders in turn speak concerning the lodge, the medicines, their powers, revelations, and the like. After this, all the leaders except the east leader sing at once, creating a general discord. When this is over, several chiefs and braves among the outsiders are called in and assigned a portion of the feast, and some one is sent outside for the elders.

One of those who have been called in to eat with the lodge members arises and says: "I thank you all, medicine people. I am very glad to have had a chance to eat with the others this sacred food offered to and blessed by Wakanda. I thank you all, women, children, and men."

One or more of the elders who was fed outside now usually is admitted to make a similar speech in behalf of themselves and his party. When the feast is finished, all pack up their bowls, spoons, and bags, preparatory to leaving. The south leader speaks and thanks everyone, concluding by saying, "Let us all arise." All the south band rise, and he sings four songs; then all walk out, passing round the west end and back to the east, where they thank the east leader. This they repeat three times, then pass out, turning around at the door to thank the east leader again.

The west leader then sings four songs, circling three times, thanking the east leader, and passing out. The north leader does the same. The east leader now sings four songs and orders an assistant to lead his band, the east band, three times round the lodge. This he does, thanking the east leader, and turning around at the door to thank him again, he and the east band depart. Last of all the east leader is thanked by

the candidate, who leaves him to come out alone.

#### WANÁKI GERATUNG'A, OR INITIATION TO TAKE THE PLACE OF A DECEASED MEMBER

A medicine-lodge member who is very ill and believes that he will not recover, thinks over his family, especially his children, to see if he can find a suitable successor for his position in the lodge. If he has no family, he calls for his sister, brother or any relative whom he thinks suitable, and sends for his own band leader and one or two more. Perhaps he may call all four to his bedside, where he says to them:

"I fear that I shall not recover. I have an otter-skin, and my place in the lodge is about to be vacant; but I hate to see it lost. I cannot bear to think that it will be empty." He then addresses the assembled leaders by kinship terms: "I thank you, my uncles [or brothers or whatever the case may be]. Look at this boy here. I want him to

join the lodge. It is my desire that he should eat what should have been my portion. I love him, and I ask you, relations, a favor that is very great and I do not wish to be refused. I want this lad to take my place. All that I have I shall turn over to him. I'll teach him to hold on to the lodge, to seek it out and learn its mysteries."

When he dies, the leaders, who of course had acquiesced in his presence (for such a deathbed request is never refused) assemble and order the candidate to attend to his funeral, telling him to come to them four days later. The candidate meanwhile has feasted his relatives and told them, with the usual prelude of ceremonial thanks, "I want to eat this food [the medicine-lodge's sacred feasts] and join this lodge, so I ask your aid." To which they reply, volunteering donations, although no such amount is required as in the case of an ordinary initiation.

When this has been done, the candidate calls the leader of the deceased mem-

ber's band to which he himself belongs, and inquires whether or not he has enough. The leader inspects the goods and passes them, and then talks with and advises the candidate.

It is now necessary for the candidate to be given a ceremonial sweat in the presence of the band leaders, in order that they may judge, by his looks and actions, whether or not he is fit to be a member. The waiter is therefore ordered to obtain four willow sticks for the sudatory framework. Willow is chosen because it grows bent over like the dome of a sweat-lodge, and because its pollen is white, symbolizing the white hairs of old age which are to come to the new member. Four stones are also gathered and heated.

When the lodge is erected, the four leaders and the candidate enter. The east leader (the leader of the band the candidate is to enter) appoints one of the others as master of ceremonies, as he himself must be befittingly humble. With the performers is a pail of water

with cedar leaves in it. Each takes some of the cedar, chews it, and spits and rubs it on his body. Then the master of ceremonies sings four songs and talks about the old medicine ways:

"There are four stones here that our waiter heated red-hot for us. Here are the cedar and our water before us. We did not start this custom; it was begun many years ago and has been handed down from our great forefathers, and we are doing only what we have been taught by our ancestors."

Then he sprinkles water on the hot stone, and passes the bucket to the next leader, for whom the waiter has fetched in another red-hot stone. He also puts in Indian tobacco. This leader sings four songs, sprinkles and passes the bucket to the next, and so on until all have taken their turn. No one dares make any mistake in the rigid formality of the proceeding, for Wakanda is watching it all.

Meanwhile the other members are waiting in the medicine-lodge for the

conclusion of this ceremony, and when all is over the leaders and the candidate go into the lodge, where the latter is seated in the candidate's usual place to the right of the east leader.

The east leader now announces: "We have now come to a hard place. I ask you all to watch closely and not fall asleep, for now this lodge will give up a dead man. This candidate is not yet among us, and the spirit of the deceased is watching us yet, until he joins. If anyone falls asleep, the ghost will take that person with it. At any other ceremony we could be less strict, but this time they offer us a dead body. You must all, men, women, and children, stay awake four nights. When it is over, you may sleep all you wish; even during the performance you may sleep in the daytime, but not at night."

The ceremony then proceeds exactly as in an ordinary initiation. If any one shows signs of dozing, the east leader rebukes him, saying: "You belong to this dance. Here is the Earth, your Mother,

and your Father Above. You are supposed to be lively."

Besides the differences cited, the candidate is also kept on his feet all night, being led around thanking the members, and being instructed in his duties and privileges.

Sometimes, when a member has died, his relatives arrange a feast for the four lodge members, and during it one of them will "give the lodge a dead man," by telling them that he wishes to join in the deceased's place. They reply: "Have your relative buried, and some time later [from four days to six months, according to the preparedness of the candidate in the matter of gifts and fees] we will attend to your case."

In this instance, since the candidate offered himself as a member, instead of being suggested by the deceased, he is required to pay nearly if not quite as much as an ordinary candidate, consequently more time is given him to make the necessary preparations.

## JOINING BY GIVING A SCALP

Sometimes a man or a group of men may go to war, intending to join the lodge by purchasing admission through the transference of their prospective war-honors to the lodge leaders. This they keep entirely to themselves. Should the war-party be successful, on its return it is customary for the members to stop a little way from the home village, shout, and wave their blankets. Then they circle about while the people come out to greet them. Then those who wish to join the medicine-lodge send word to the four leaders, giving their personal names without stating what they wish, and asking the shamans to meet them half-way between the war-party's camp. (The war-party always remains by itself to prevent contamination by contact with menstruating women and other supposedly impure persons.)

When the four leaders appear, they are each given a robe to sit on, and each brave (there may be from one to four who desire admission; in this case we will

suppose there are three) presents one of the leaders with a scalp, stretched on a hoop and fastened to the end of a three-foot stick, saying:

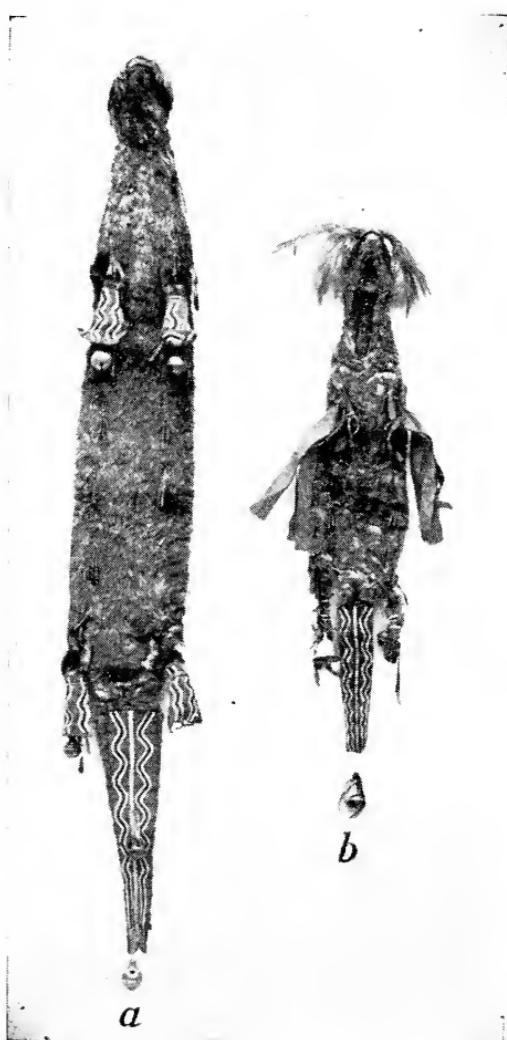
"I have not returned, and I give you this to dance over. I give you my deeds to count as your own.<sup>40</sup> You know what I want now. I desire to be one of you people."

Another brave, presenting a scalp to the second leader with the same formality, remarks: "I want to sit with you too; I don't care where you put me. My desire has always been to sit with you, and Wakanda has helped me to it. Here is my part; I give it to you." The third candidate speaks in like manner.

The four band leaders do not accept the scalps at once, but withdraw to talk the matter over. They discuss the requests, the candidates, and the trophies, and then, if all is well, they return, and one of them says: "Good news, but not the news you brought us, which was better. You have asked us for a seat in this lodge. We don't amount to much,

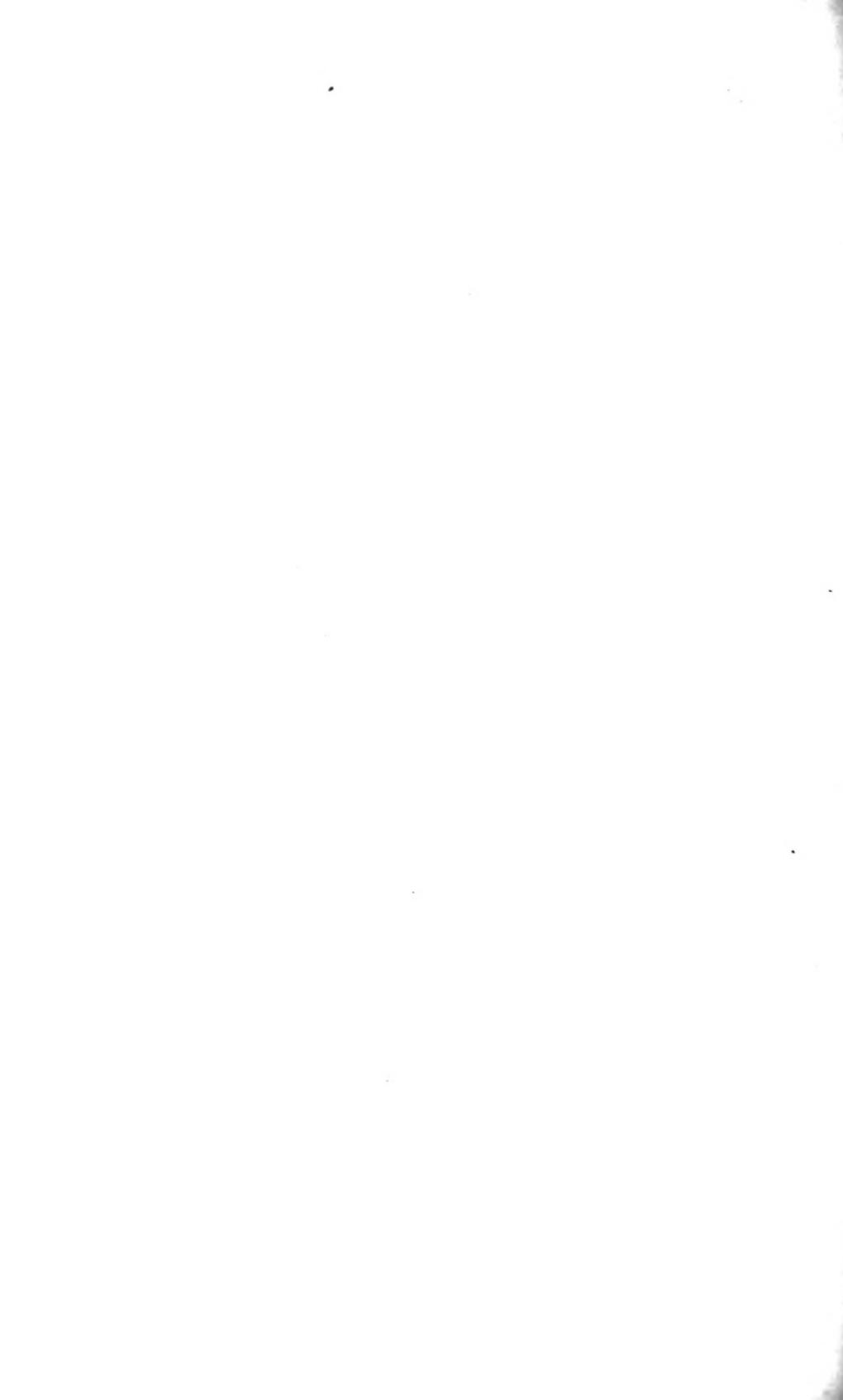
but if all you want is a seat and the privilege of eating with us, we will be very glad to give them to you. That's what we have concluded. You, 'successful partisan' [or whatever title the first candidate has earned on the warpath, and so on],<sup>41</sup> we give to this leader over there," designating the one of the four leaders to whom no application had been made. The second applicant is given to the first band leader, who has just given his man to the fourth, the third to the second leader, and the third leader who received a warrior's overtures receives no one into his band.

The time of the initiation is set four days later. "You braves must get ready to take your clothes off then," they are told by the leaders; for the braves, instead of being dressed in all their Iowa finery, like ordinary candidates, enter stripped to the clout and moccasins, in fighting trim. They give no more presents, for the reason that the scalps and war-honors transferred are considered sufficient.



## IOWA QUILLED OTTER-SKIN MEDICINE-BAGS

The vertical line of quillwork in the center of the tail of each represents the "medicine road," and the wavy lines show its border of broken ice.



## KIGIRUYA, OR WASHING-OFF FEAST

When an initiation ceremony is concluded, everyone hastily bundles up his otter-skin bags and wipes off the sacred paint, leaving a few daubs here and there around the corners of the face, so a few days later any member who wishes may invite the four leaders and a few friends among the other members to a little feast.

The feast is held in the host's wigwam, where all take regular positions, the host's band starting in the east. A waiter is also provided. When all have arrived and everything is in readiness, the east leader announces that this feast is given so that the family can go into the sweat-lodge and cleanse themselves of the medicine-paint. "He also wants us to fix up the family otters [pl. xvi, xviii], and wrap them up better," they say.

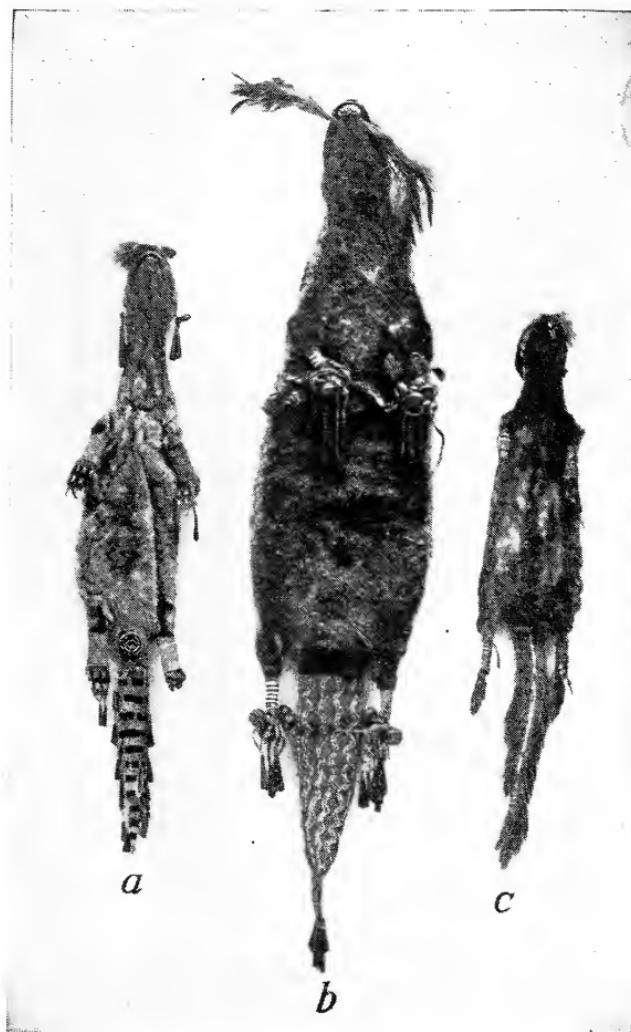
For this speech and service the leader is given a fee by his clients. All sing, the food is brought in, the leader of the band dishes out the food, which is served by the waiter, and the ceremony is com-

pleted. After an initiation ceremony these feasts are held by so many people, in various lodges all over the village.

#### PEXU WACI, OR SPRING MEDICINE DANCE

Early in the spring, after the grass is out, leaves have unfolded, and flowers are budding and birds singing; when horses and wild animals begin to shed their winter coats, is the time set for the first Medicine Dance of the year. Many desire to join then and learn the mysteries.

Then some band which is desirous of conducting the ceremony, get together, and all the members hunt and prepare the game that is brought in for a feast. The lodge is erected, and the night before the day appointed, and before the invitation sticks have been sent out,<sup>42</sup> the leader of the host band (whom I shall afterward call the east leader, because of his position in the lodge during the ceremonies while his band is host) sings all night long. At that time, if there are any candidates for admission, they are privileged



IOWA ANIMAL-SKIN MEDICINE-BAGS

*a*, young otter with woven quilled ornament on tail; *b*, large otter; *c*, squirrel.



to attend and stay with him to learn all they can.

While the singing is going on, the messenger is bearing the invitation sticks to the other band leaders, and they in turn are sending out their quota to their followers. The members then repair to the wigwams of their respective leaders, where they are feasted and harangued, and prepare to go to the long lodge.

Meanwhile the east leader's messenger returns and tells him that he has delivered all the sticks. By this time the east leader has all his band in the eastern end of the medicine-lodge, awaiting the coming of the others.

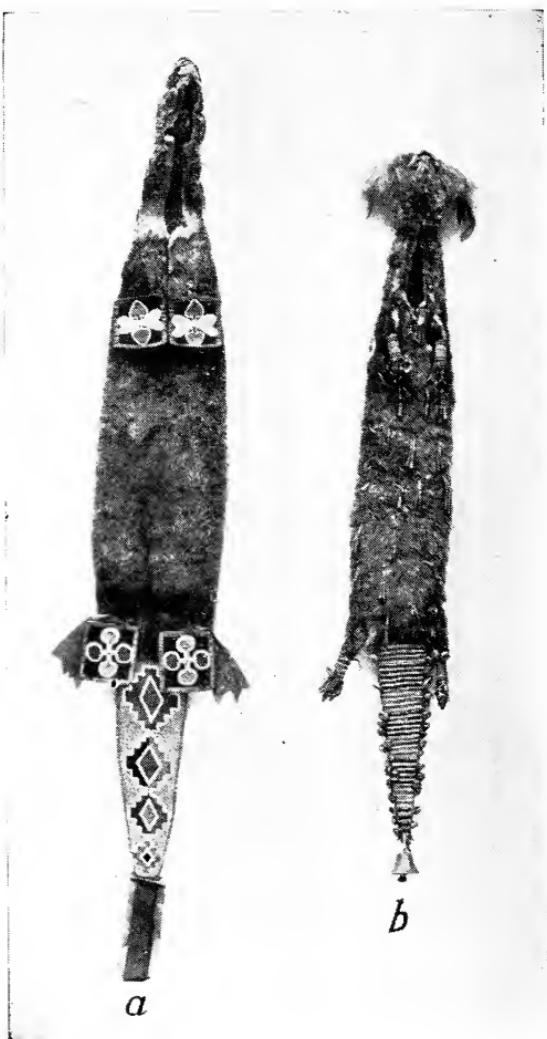
Whoever first arrives (it makes no difference who it may be) comes to the door and looks around, speaks a few words, sings one song, and enters, followed by his band in single file, first men, then women. He then passes round the lodge, stopping at the north center, the west and the south center, at each place holding up his invitation sticks and singing one song. He then circles the lodge four

times with his band, thanking the east leader and his followers on each round, calling them each by some kinship term. On the last circuit he returns the invitation sticks to the east leader and seats himself at the north center, his followers all being seated on his right along the wall toward the west.

The leader of the next band to arrive goes through the same performance, singing one song at each point of the compass after the ceremonial entrance, making four circuits, thanking both the east and north leaders and their bands, and seating himself on the west with his followers at his right trailing around toward the south center of the lodge.

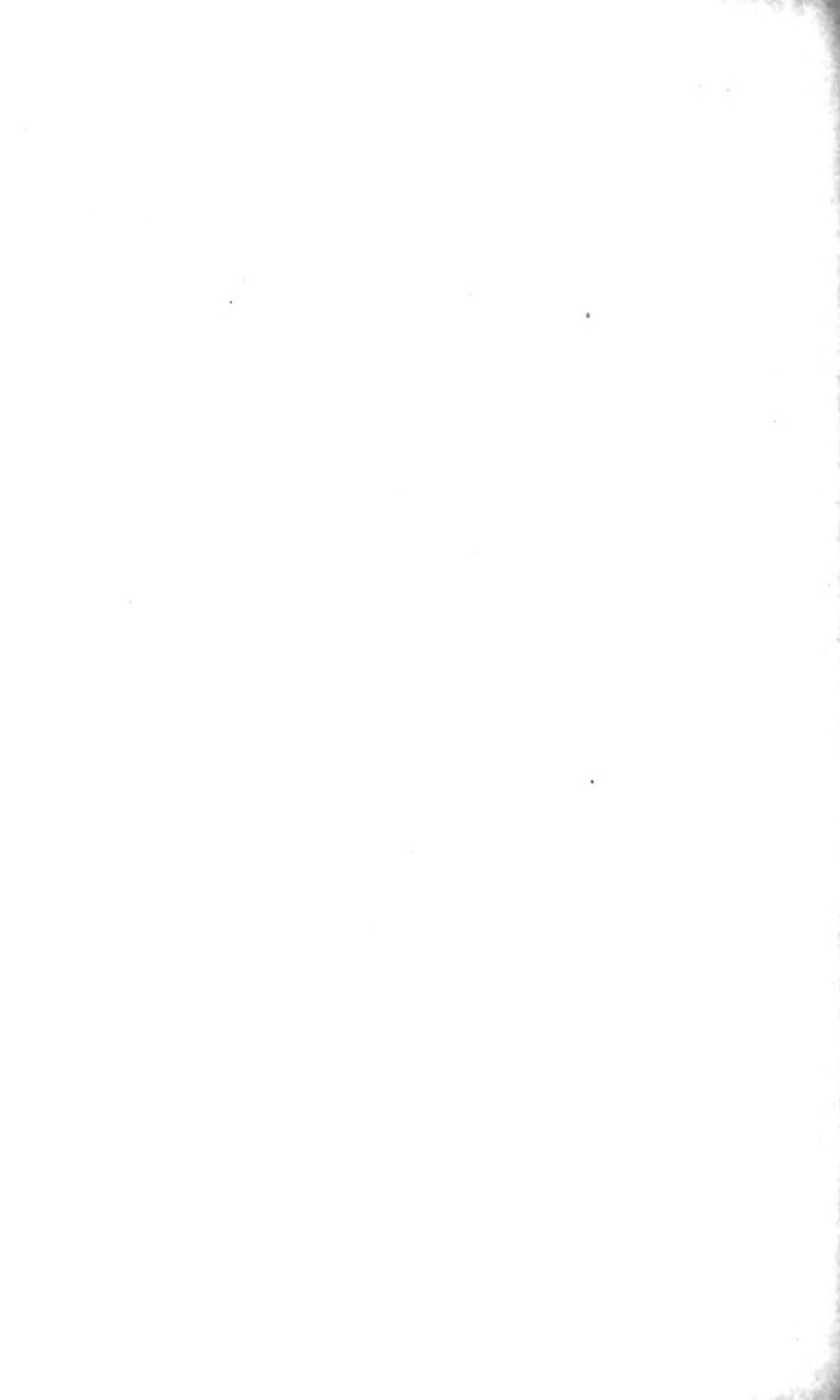
The leader of the last band to arrive goes through the same forms, thanks the three bands and their leaders, and takes his place in the south center, with his party to his right extending toward the door on the east. Beyond them, near the door, sit the lodge waiter and his helper.

The east leader now rises and thanks



IOWA OTTER-SKIN MEDICINE-BAGS

*a*, with beaded decoration ; *b*, with quilled ornaments.



each of the band leaders and their bands in rotation, addressing them as "You who are sitting on the cold side [the north]; you who sit on the side where the sun sets [the west], and you who sit on the warm side [the south]." His own side, the east, is of course "the side where the sun rises."<sup>43</sup>

When the east leader has concluded his speech of thanks to the others, he orders the waiter and his assistant to carry the drum, gourd rattles, and the pillow that the rattles are struck upon, to the north leader, whose band, it will be remembered, adjoins his own. The waiter and the assistant obey, making the entire circuit of the lodge, and deliver the drum and other objects on the second circuit, going on around to their places once more, completing the round.

The north leader takes the drum, and, assisted by two of his band who wield the rattles, sings and thanks all those present. He then recites the ways of the old people in connection with the dance. He says, for example:

"Today, as we handle our otter-skins, it is like shaking hands with the old people who have gone before us, for they too used to hold them. They made this rule which we follow today, to raise up our otters' heads and dust them off. We will today kick our mother who nurses and raises us." ("Our mother" is the earth. To "kick" her refers to the Indian method of "stamp dancing.")

He instructs the lodge for some time, then he and his band sing. They rise and circle the lodge, thanking all present and calling them by kinship terms. They then return to their starting place and holding their otter-skins to their hearts they perform 'a "standing-still dance," that is, they dance up and down but remain in the same place. Eight or ten songs are sung, no one sitting except the drummer and rattlers. After these songs, the band is seated while the north leader speaks again. Finally, he returns the drum, gourds, and pillow to the east leader, who tells the waiter to carry them to the leader in the west, which is done

with the same ceremonial circuit as before.

The west leader goes through the same procedure as the north leader, and the drum is next taken to the south leader. When he has finished, the drum goes back to the east leader, who says, referring to the member of his band who is making the feast:

"This man [or woman] who is feasting us *Ma'kani* [Medicine People], has done well. Everything is good. He does well to make us think of our forefathers."

When he has finished, he walks in succession to the leaders of the north, west, and south bands, and whispers in their ears to select and prepare two members from each band, of either sex, to vomit forth the *wacucke* (the "medicine arrow" or cowrie shell, generally known to the Algonkian tribes as *migis* or *megisa*) on blankets which will be spread for them. The east band, being the host, does not take an active part in this.

The person who arranged the dance now spreads six blankets or calicoes (for-

merly bear- or buffalo-robés were used) east of the fireplace. First, however, the east leader leads him four times around the lodge, with the blankets over his arm. Meantime the drum and rattles have been carried to the north leader. After the four ceremonial circuits and the laying of the "spreads," the east leader announces that all is ready.

The north leader then orders his two shell producers to begin, so they rise, circle the lodge four times, thanking the other members, and take their stand before the two easternmost blankets, facing north.

On the last ceremonial round the west leader orders his two performers to rise and follow. They in turn make the four circuits and take their places next to the two who preceded them. On their fourth round the south leader has meanwhile ordered his men up, and in the same manner they ultimately stand beside the others.

All six are now lined up, facing north with a blanket before each. The first

man on the east now thanks all the leaders and lays out his otter-skin bag on the blanket; and so on, one after another, all six performers do the same. Then, one after the other, still beginning on the east, they thank all the members present, drop on one knee, and thank all the leaders again. (In all these ceremonial thankings it must be remembered, even where no mention is made of the fact, that kinship terms are used toward the people addressed.)

The performers now cough or vomit up the sacred shells. This is an act calling for much exertion, and often the performer hacks and retches while the other performers hammer him on the back and try to coax forth the shell, which is supposed to remain always in his breast, a sign of his membership. At last the shells are all forthcoming, and the actors take them up and rub themselves over the body with them, at the same time uttering prayers for health. They then arise, holding the mysterious sacred shells in the upturned palm of the left hand,

while the otter-skin is clutched to the breast with the right.

The proceeding now varies. If the first of the performers is a woman, she is obliged to call on her band leader to sing for her, as will be shown in the section on initiation. If a man, the actor sings for himself. After four songs he passes all round the lodge, exhibiting the sacred shell in the upturned palm of his left hand, while he still grasps his otter-skin medicine-bag in his right, returning and taking his place at the foot or west end of the line. After this, the second performer sings three songs and shows the shell, returning to the foot of the line, which in each case moves up one place, so that when each has shown his shell, all will be back in their original positions. The third actor sings two songs and repeats the performance, while the fourth, fifth, and sixth sing one song each, though the exhibition circuit is by no means omitted.

All the performers being lined up once more in place, they circle the lodge, going as always to the right, for three times

without incident. On the fourth round, however, each swallows his sacred shell and all fall to earth as though dead. The drum is then beaten smartly, and they rise, as do all the other members, except the musicians, and the well-known "shooting ceremony" occurs. That is, each member of each band blows upon the head of his or her otter, cries "*I<sup>x</sup>hi<sup>x</sup>-hi<sup>x</sup>hi<sup>x</sup>hi<sup>x</sup>!*" and points it at some member of some other band than his own; the medicine arrow containing the sacred and secret essence of the bag is supposed to penetrate the victim's body, and he falls into a trance of longer or shorter duration, rarely over a few minutes, according to the power of the shooter. The Iowa regard this performance rather lightly, as compared with the Central Algonkian tribes. It is called "Going on the warpath," and seems to be regarded as a diversion rather than as a serious duty; at least, that is the impression given at the present day.

The "warpath" lasts during four to six or seven songs. Then the musicians

rise and take the drum to the waiter and his assistant. They themselves now carry the gourds and pillow round the lodge, acting as though they would stop before each leader until they come to the place next beyond their own, when they leave the gourds and pillow. They give the medicine cry, "*I<sup>x</sup>hi<sup>x</sup>hi<sup>x</sup>hi<sup>x</sup>hi<sup>x</sup>!*" at every halt, real or pretended. The waiter now takes the drum to the west leader, who has already received the gourds, and it is his turn to repeat the ceremony.

The west leader now harangues the assembled members, and with the same formalities two members from each of the other bands, save his own, are called on to produce the sacred shells and exhibit them. With an exact repetition of all the rites, the drum then goes to the south leader, and finally back to the east, whence it started.

The east leader then sings, and all rise and dance. The east leader then talks, thanking all those present for having come and respected the donor's feast, and the waiter is requested to bring in the food.

The waiter and his attendant sort out the different kinds of viands, placing each variety—bear, buffalo, elk, deer, turkey, or whatever it may be—before the north, west, and south leaders. The east leader then orders the waiter to give the head of the chief game animal to some distinguished member whom he mentions by name as his choice. Beginning with the east leader, one after another the heads of the bands repeat the sayings and teachings of the forefathers with regard to the medicine-lodge feasts. Then all the leaders and members at once (save the host) strike up a song of thanksgiving, and the feast which ends the ceremony is begun. The east leader may choose to send out the waiter to fetch in some chiefs or braves, who are not members, to share in the feast. They are placed beside the waiter next to the door. During the entire performance, *waiákida*, or "soldiers," keep guard at the door to prevent the intrusion or interference of non-members.

NATOWHÁNI WACI, WHEN-THE-LEAVES-FALL DANCE, OR AUTUMN CEREMONY

In the autumn someone will give a feast to the society and the members will talk over lodge affairs. Someone says: "Well, it's time for us to dance once more. The trees have all shed their leaves, the sap has gone down, and the otters have all gone home to the bottom of the water. All the insects have left this country, the birds have gone south, the mammals have crawled into their dens and shut their doors on us, so we must do up our otters and put them away for the winter."

This ceremony is occasionally held in midwinter. Candidates may apply for admission in the fall as well as in the spring, but at no other time of the year. The members often dress entirely in yellow to symbolize the turning leaves in the fall of the year. The ceremony is given by the host to please the people, and with prayers to Wakanda and Mother Earth to give him longer life.

The four lodge leaders are well pleased by this, and they join him in his prayer for longer life. Sometimes they add a dance in praise of Wakanda and to help the host. As they dance, they raise their hands aloft and pray. After the dance a feast is held. The leader takes some good meat on a spoon, holds it up, and prays to Wakanda to bless it. This ends the Autumn ceremony.

MANKÁNYÊ TCE!NAU ("MEDICINE DEAD ROAD"), OR MOURNING CEREMONY

When a member of the lodge dies, the others convene and sing medicine-songs all night. These are mournful wailing songs, sung at no other time. In the morning they take tobacco and tie it on the corpse's wrist, and paint the face of the deceased with sacred medicine-lodge paint. Then one of the old members or a leader is chosen to instruct the soul of the dead man how to reach the Hereafter. He tells it to follow the road that leads through the lodge due northwest to

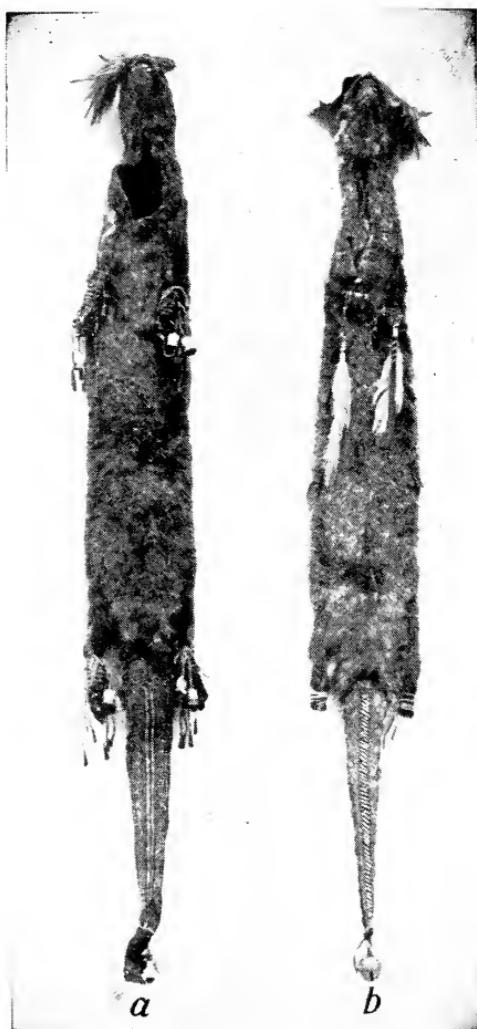
the future world. It must not look back longingly at the land of the living and its relatives, but go on, crossing the river of the dead on a rock bridge to get to the land of the ghosts.

#### THE "OTTER HUNTING"

Under the title of "Otter Hunting" the following is one of the long sermons delivered to candidates who are being prepared for initiation into the lodge. It accounts for the origin of a number of the lodge's customs and paraphernalia, such as the use of otter-skin bags, and explains many of the practices of the shamans, the red feathers in their mouths, etc.

A man used to go hunting every day. He blackened his face and traveled without food, hoping that through fasting and mourning some favor might be granted him by some of the God Powers. It was in the winter, and one day he found fresh otter-tracks in the snow, so he followed them to see what they meant.

The trail led through a draw, or wooded



IOWA QUILLED OTTER-SKIN MEDICINE-BAGS



gully, and then on, over a hill, down into a hollow, and on over the top. All day long he followed it, until at last he found a ravine with a creek flowing at its bottom. The creek was frozen, but out in the center he saw a great round hole in the ice, with clear water beneath. He heard a great whistling (the characteristic call of the otter is supposed to be a whistle), and saw the Otters holding a medicine dance, just like people, in the water with only their heads sticking out. The hole was fringed with jingling ice, and the bells on the feet and tail of our otter medicine-bags represent this. Their tinkling is the sound of the crackling ice, and they are fastened on the margin of the tail and feet to represent the road round the otter's lodge. In some cases the quilled design on the otter's tail shows a straight longitudinal line. This represents the road of life (pl. xix).

The Otters were seated in a ring, and in the middle was an old Otter, dead, but propped up as though he was sitting there. The Otters were initiating some-

one in the dead member's place. Presently the Otters looked up and saw the man observing them, so they spoke to him in a friendly manner:

"This is what we have been doing (always). We were taught this by Wakanda, our great father above, and we want you to take it, and use us [i.e., our skins to hold the medicines] in this dance."

Then the four Otter lodge chiefs came together and said to the Indian: "Watch. Pay strict attention, and observe what we are about to do, so you can do likewise." So the four prepared to perform one act at each corner of the universe. The first or east leader arose, spoke a while, dived, and came up with a man's bloody scalp in his mouth. "We do this," he said, "and this is the way you shall do. I give you this strength and power on the warpath."

This is the reason why the red feathers are put on each side of the mouth of the otter-skin bag. They represent the bloody scalp. The second leader spoke

and dived, returning with a catfish in his mouth. The third leader likewise talked and dived, coming up with a buffalo-fish. The fourth Otter did the same and came up with a minnow. When the dance began the Otters shot these fish at each other instead of the magic white shells.

Now, we people should use the lodge on the good side, and the shooting should be done for pleasure and not for evil purposes as some do, especially nowadays. That is the way the Otters were taught, and they told our old forefather. They explained to him that the proper terms to call the leaders were: "The man sitting on the cold side" (north), "The man sitting on the sunrise side" (east), "The one sitting on the warm side" (south), and "The man sitting on the side where the sun sets" (west). These were the names they used to call their leaders, and they were supposed to be little gods (*wakanda-aii<sup>n</sup>ya*).

Moreover, the Otters showed our old forefather some of the great things that they did. One pointed out a bird, an

eagle, or a hawk, sailing so high in the air that it was almost out of sight. Then he ran around in the water and whistled and shot at it with his medicine-bag, and it fell downward to them, dead. "This is another thing we give you people," said the Otter.

The man looked at it in amazement, and when he went back home, later, he told his band, but they said they thought it was wrong to do this. They decided that it was better to substitute feasts for killing by magic. "Let us rather cook on the earth, so that the juices and grease can fall on our mother, and the savor can rise to Wakanda. Feasts will promote goodwill and do away with evil."

Yet in recent years the medicine-lodge has had members who, while fasting with blackened faces to learn more of its secrets, have learned evil. It is very alluring, and the evil Powers can imitate Wakanda; yet this was by no means intended in the beginning.

The roots and the herbs have been learned by fasting. When the thunder

appeared to dreamers, there was somebody in it who spoke to them and told them what to take for certain diseases. He is one of the great Powers. If anyone falls ill, the relatives come and get a doctor from the lodge, who goes over and feels and examines the sick man to diagnose. Then he applies this medicine. He boils his roots and makes liquor for his patient to drink. Maybe he washes him with the brew, and he covers the sick man with a buffalo-robe, to sweat him. He gives medicines to inhale and others to bathe the head.

When a child is ill, and they are nearly done doctoring it, they give it a mild sweat-bath; an adult gets a much stronger one. After the sweat the patient is bathed in cold water. Then the doctor goes away, but returns later to see how his work on the case is progressing.

Another method of treatment is this: When a person is very ill, several shamans of the lodge get together and make a medicine-drum, one of the deep kind that has water in the bottom. Then they

all sing their great doctoring song before the patient, to please him and aid him to sleep. They tell the sick one to try to dream about himself and see if he can thus locate any cure.

All these things were given to the Iowa by Wakanda for their use, though we cannot cure everyone.

#### HÁNWAHE WACI, OR DAY DANCE OF THE MEDICINE-LODGE AND BUFFALO DOCTORS

A Medicine-dance member may cook a lot of food for a day dance. Then the lodge invites the buffalo doctors to attend, and they are placed on the south side of the long tent, while the Medicine-dance members sit in regular order on the north side. The performance is called "Making friends with the buffalo doctors." The Medicine-dance members then dance one round, while the buffalo doctors look on, and keep respectfully silent, especially during the "warpath" shooting. When it is all over, the medicine dancers return to their

respective places, and it is announced that the buffalo doctors may take their turn, which they do. At its conclusion, the east leader of the lodge says to them:

"My friends, you are fine on wounds, we all know, but we are good at invisible trouble. We can take a person who is down to skin and bone and we can bring him back to health so that he can walk along the road (of life). That is our work."

Sometimes the buffalo doctors would say to the medicine dancers, "We'll dance the Buffalo dance and you'll see a real buffalo in our midst." This feat they would perform. "Well, Medicine-dance friends, that is what we can do; that's our power and strength. That was a person who turned himself into a buffalo. Now let us see you dance."

The medicine dancers agreed, and as they danced, the others saw that they drove a black bear in front of them. They ceased, the bear lay down, and behold! it was only an old bear-hide full of blood from which an old man sprang.

"There, brothers, is what we can do; that is our strength and power."

Once a big Medicine Dance was going on, and during the night a bad outsider made a wooden mentula and threw it into the lodge. Both the medicine dancers and the buffalo doctors were angry, and they quietly sent someone to find out who had insulted them. He was not hard to find, for he boasted, "If they are so powerful, why don't they find out who I am, and shoot me?"

The messenger reported to the east leader, and when the dance was over, both societies got together and had a council over it. They decided to get up a horse race, as their insulter was fond of such. They planned to have someone whom he would not suspect get up the race and offer many prizes. The race was to be one of those conducted for the dead, for the Iowa had this funeral custom, and it was offered by a woman. The offender, although he had been warned to beware, was a participant. The four leaders of each society took

their followers and concealed themselves in a patch of woods on opposite sides of the race-course, which was about three miles long. The medicine-lodge people had told the buffalo doctors that they might shoot the horse, so when the culprit galloped by they did so, discharging their magic arrows until the horse fell with a broken neck. At the same time the medicine-lodge people shot the man, whom they killed in the same manner, so that both horse and rider came to the earth simultaneously. Then the avengers withdrew without a word, and no one was at all sorry about it.

#### SUMMARY OF THE IOWA MEDICINE DANCE

##### ORIGIN MYTH

The son of God instructed the people as to the manner of founding a lodge, and appointed four officers of both sexes to be the four band leaders. He then vanished without "giving them life." The four officers searched all over the world, and finally decided that life, which they

could not find, was to be obtained through the lodge.

#### INITIATION BY PURCHASE

The candidate approaches a band leader with presents, and finally wins acceptance of his petition. Invitation sticks are sent out, his band gathers at his wigwam or in the medicine-lodge, and there instructs the candidate. The next day, the band the candidate is petitioning (the host's band) seats itself in the eastern quarter of the lodge, with the candidate to the right of the leader.

The other three bands enter in due form, making four stops to sing and to thank those who preceded them. They sit, in order of their arrival, in the north, west, and south.

Speeches to members in explanation of the candidate's designs. The candidate is caused to make a ceremonial circuit to thank the members led by the host (leader of the east band). The other three bands dance in their positions. After the circuit, the leaders of the three bands in turn lead the candidate about

the lodge to perform the rite of thanks. Speeches are next made by the leaders, and the host causes each to select two members from his band and to exhibit the *megisê*. After this, the candidate is led about the lodge once more to thank members. Six blankets are then spread out in the eastern end of the tent, and the members who were selected to exhibit shells cough them up on the blankets. After a song the performers swallow the shells and fall over. The drum is carried to the northern end and a general shooting ceremony now takes place, the members of the society shooting all those of all the others promiscuously. The north band then makes a circuit, in rotation, followed by all the others, except the host's band. A feast is next served, and the outsiders are invited in. All now pass out, thanking the host and his band. The second day's ceremony is very similar to the first.

Some confusion exists as to the sequence and time of the events, evidently owing to the fact that formerly a period

of four years was required for admission. The first performance is the hanging of the bar on which the candidate's fees are placed; then a sudatory is erected, and the members go out and sit in a circle between it and the medicine-lodge. The host names another leader (generally from the north band) to be master of ceremonies. Then the leaders enter the sweat-lodge in rotation, followed by a few members of each band, and after certain songs a sweat is had. This is repeated by each band leader.

**FINAL RITES: INVESTMENT OF THE CANDIDATE  
IN THE BRUSH**

The host turns the candidate over to the north leader, who dresses him in gala garb. Just before dawn the host, waiter, and one of the host's band go to a secluded place in the timber and make a fireplace. At dawn all go to the fireplace, led by the host and the candidate. All carry worn-out medicine-bags to mend or to throw away. After painting, refurbishing, and mending these bags, all the performers

dance in a circle; then the leaders instruct the candidate, after which the candidate is shot by the north leader. All now return, the company dividing in halves, trotting spirally, with general shooting. As they approach the lodge, the leaders sing four songs each. Then they enter, and the candidate is led about to thank the members, after which he stands in the south side of the door and is lectured.

The next step is the distribution of the fees, and a feast, whose chief feature is the division of an animal-shaped cake. Braves who are not members are invited in to eat. The rites now conclude with a ceremonial exit.

#### INITIATION TO TAKE THE PLACE OF A DECEASED MEMBER

A lodge member who is at the point of death selects his successor and sends for his band leader, whom he notifies.

The candidate provides, with the help of relatives, presents for the leaders and a sweat-lodge. A ceremonial sweat is given to the leaders by the candidate.

After this, all enter the medicine-lodge, where the members await them. Sleep is taboo to all present. The rest of the performance is the same as in the regular initiation.

A variant form of this initiation is when a candidate is taken in to fill a dead member's place at his own suggestion.

#### JOINING BY GIVING A SCALP

Usually several warriors perform this rite together. On the conclusion of a successful war-party they send word to the band leaders, who meet them secretly and accept scalps and the titles earned by the braves as admission fees. Later the braves are initiated, and, unlike ordinary candidates, they wear no clothing during the ceremony except clout and moccasins.

#### WASHING-OFF FEAST

In order to wash off the paint and arrange the family bags, the east leader of the most recent ceremony is invited to a feast, where he performs these services.

## SPRING MEDICINE DANCE

Any band desiring to do so, gathers feast materials. A night is spent in singing, while invitations are sent out.

On the day chosen, the bands enter. Ceremonially the first to arrive takes the north position, the next the west, and the last the south. The host (east leader) thanks each in turn, and one waiter carries the drum and rattles to the north leader, who sings and preaches. His band next circles the lodge, and, returning, dance in position, holding their otter bags close to their hearts. The musical instruments are returned to the host, who sends them next to the west, and so on.

At the end of this, the host goes to the other leaders and whispers to them to prepare two of each band to exhibit the *megisēsūk*.

The person who arranged the dance now spreads six blankets east of the fireplace, and the two persons chosen to exhibit the *megisēsūk* from the east band arise and go over to the easternmost blankets.

Then each in turn lays his bag on the blanket and thanks the leaders. Then each kneels on one knee and coughs up his *megisê*. Each sings and exhibits the shell, circling the lodge, then returning to the foot of the line, which moves up one.

All now circle the lodge four times, on the last circuit swallowing the *megisêšuk* and falling, but soon arise. General shooting with the medicine-bags then follows. The west leader harangues all the others.

A feast is next given, which finishes the ceremony.

#### AUTUMN CEREMONY

This is a simple ceremony of dancing and prayer, followed by a song.

#### MOURNING CEREMONY

This is entirely unlike the Menomini ceremony, consisting of a wake during which songs are sung and the soul of the dead man is instructed how to reach the hereafter.

## THE "OTTER HUNTING"

This is a sermon of instruction to candidates in which they are told how a man once learned some of the rites from the otters. It also explains certain symbols and decorations on the bags.

## HANWAHE WACI

This is a combination ceremony held by the medicine-lodge and the buffalo doctors, in which each society shows what it can do.

## WAHPETON DAKOTA WAKAN WACIPI, OR MEDICINE DANCE

### INTRODUCTION

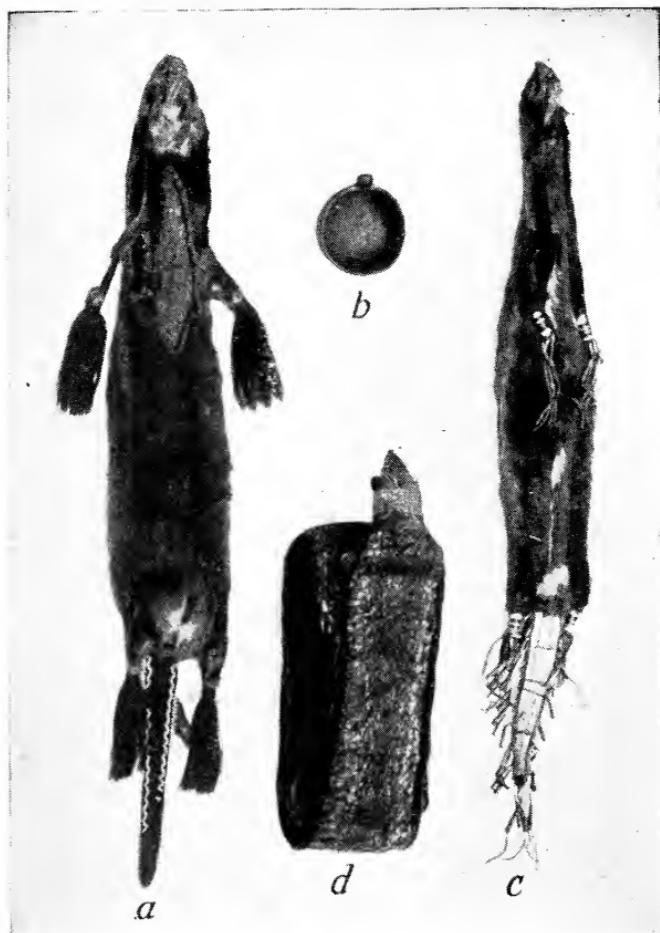
My informants, in gathering information on the *Wakan Waciipi* in 1914 near Sisseton, S. D., were Jingling-cloud, who, while not a member, has seen the ceremony on one or two occasions and has frequently heard it discussed; his grandmother, Taišnaliotewin (Gray-shawl), a woman then eighty-seven years of age, and a man whose father had been a prominent member. Most of the information came from Mrs Gray-shawl, but, on account of her extreme age, it is not so satisfactory as that obtained from members of other tribes, being quite hazy as to details. This is not surprising, as the ceremony has not been performed by the Wahpeton dwelling at and near the Sisseton Agency since the sixties. Mrs

Gray-shawl appears to have been an officer in the lodge, perhaps a band leader, but I could not be certain of this.

Among the Dakota, the medicine-lodge was composed of four bands, the leading band being called *Becdeka*, or Sauk, after the tribe from which the society was traditionally derived. The other bands were known by the names of their leaders. In Mrs Gray-shawl's time these were: Iyangmani (Running-walker); H'oka, or Singer; Wakanhdi-inyanka (Fast-lightning); Ma<sup>n</sup>zómani (Walking-iron). Which one was leader of the *Becdeka* is not apparent. Jingling-cloud said that membership in each band was based on similar visions, but Mrs Gray-shawl, whose testimony is more important, since she herself was a member of the society, said that membership in any band was optional with the candidate who applied to the leader of the band preferred. Young people often obtained their information from their parents and joined their band. Sex was no bar to membership, but very young children were not

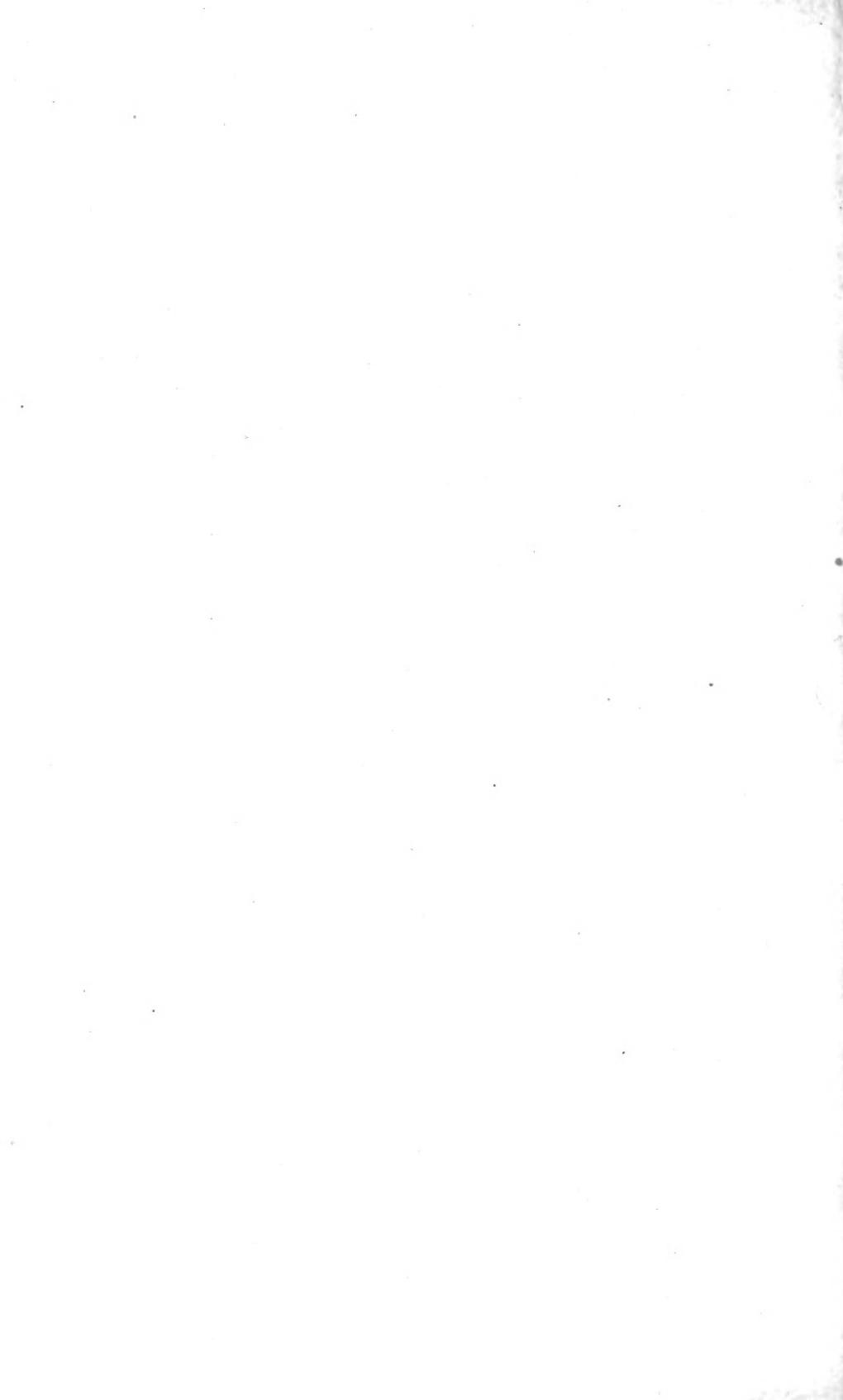
taken in as among the Menomini. Mrs Gray-shawl was a member of the division led during her time by Iyangmani; her sister belonged to the Becdeka.

The paraphernalia of the society was as follows: The deep water-drum found generally among other tribes, gourd rattles, and medicine-bags made from the skins of otters, white muskrats (used only by men), divers (used by men only), loons, prairiedogs, and perhaps others (pl. xx). The different bands had distinguishing marks. The medicine otter-skins of the Becdeka group had cut crow-feathers fastened on their backs, and the members of this group wore crow-feathers on their heads. The members of Running-walker's band wore eagle-feathers with five or six dots of blue paint upon each. These were worn by both men and women, and all new members of Iyangmani's division received these feathers to wear when they were initiated, as a symbol that they would soon do a brave deed. At no other time might a woman wear an eagle-



## WAHPETON DAKOTA MEDICINE-DANCE PARAPHERNALIA

*a, c, mink-skin medicine-bags ; b, small bone used as a cup to administer medicine ; d, medicine-bag of pine snake-skin.*



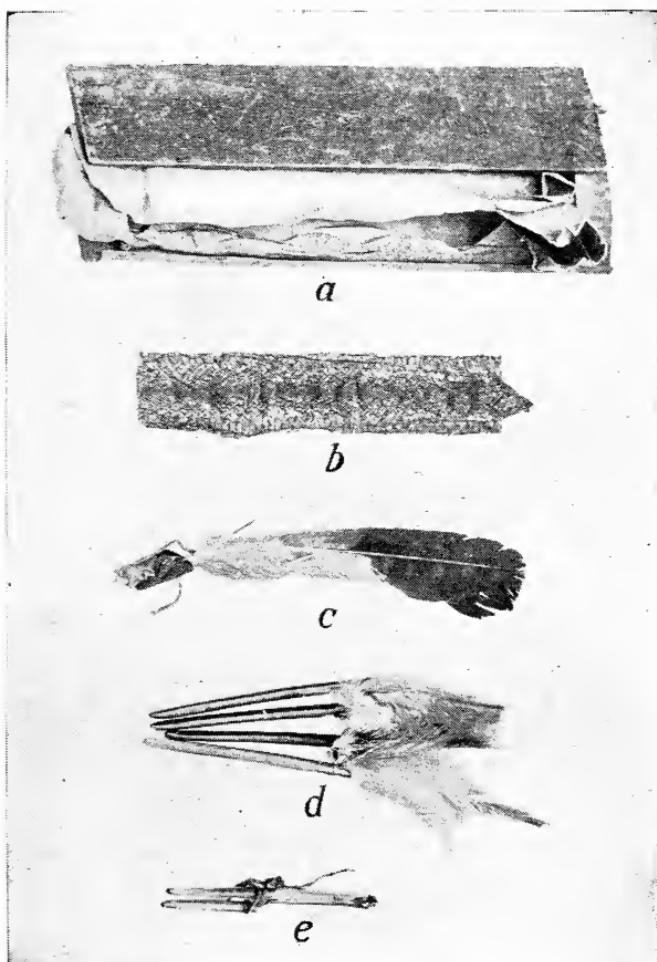
feather, for though women had the right to receive eagle-feathers for acts of bravery, custom demanded that they give them to their male relatives to wear.

The Wahpeton medicine-bags are furnished with curious double-pointed oblong objects which seem to be cut from yellow or white shell, and these are used instead of the small shells which are the medicine-arrows of other tribes. In addition to these objects, invitation quills, dyed after wrapping the quill (pl. XXI, *d*) with bark or string, so that when the pigment is dried a white spiral stripe remains on the length of the quill, are also used by the society, together with wooden bowls and spoons for feasting (pl. XXII, *a-c*), which are always furnished with handles carved to represent medicine birds or animals. These are used by the society in contradistinction to the ordinary eating bowls and spoons, which are invariably plain. Most of the spoons are of wood, but some are of buffalo-horn. Tiny magic bows and arrows are used to shoot

offenders or their images in the lodge to punish them for their transgressions.

Feather plumes are worn by the members. These consisted of split and dyed feathers fastened in whole quills taken from larger birds. These and the feather objects of Running-walker's band were kept in folders of buffalo-hide or in shallow wooden boxes made for the purpose. Quantities of red and white swan- or eagle-down were also used to place upon sacrifices and to strew on the floor of the lodge. The root and herb medicines were kept in folders or wrappers of deer-skin or bark, or in woven bags of bass-wood string and yarn, such as are used by the Central Algonkians. Others made of bears' ears trimmed with wampum, or of deerskin adorned with animal and geometric figures embroidered in porcupine-quills, were also employed.

Some of the medicine-bags which were not ornamented were supposed to have been able to cry out during the dance. This is a common idea among other tribes. The old-fashioned medicine-bags



## WAHPETON MEDICINE-DANCE PARAPHERNALIA

*a*, bag to hold invitation quills; *b*, snakeskin used as guardian against witches; *c*, feather given as prize to the first to finish the feast; *d*, invitation quills; *e*, miniature bow and arrow kept as guardian against theft.



had the underside of the tail and legs adorned with porcupine-quill embroidery fastened on deerskin. In some cases, instead of having a square piece attached to them, strings of quill embroidery were wrapped around the feet of the animal whose skin formed the bag. All were distinguished as medicine-bags by having dyed down thrust in their nostrils. The shell arrows were supposed to have been gifts of *unktehi*.

Members wore necklaces of cowrie shells and bone beads, both of which were supposed to be alive. Thimbles were attached to these necklaces, in which dried fireflies were placed, the idea being that whenever such a necklace was worn, no one could be angry with the wearer.

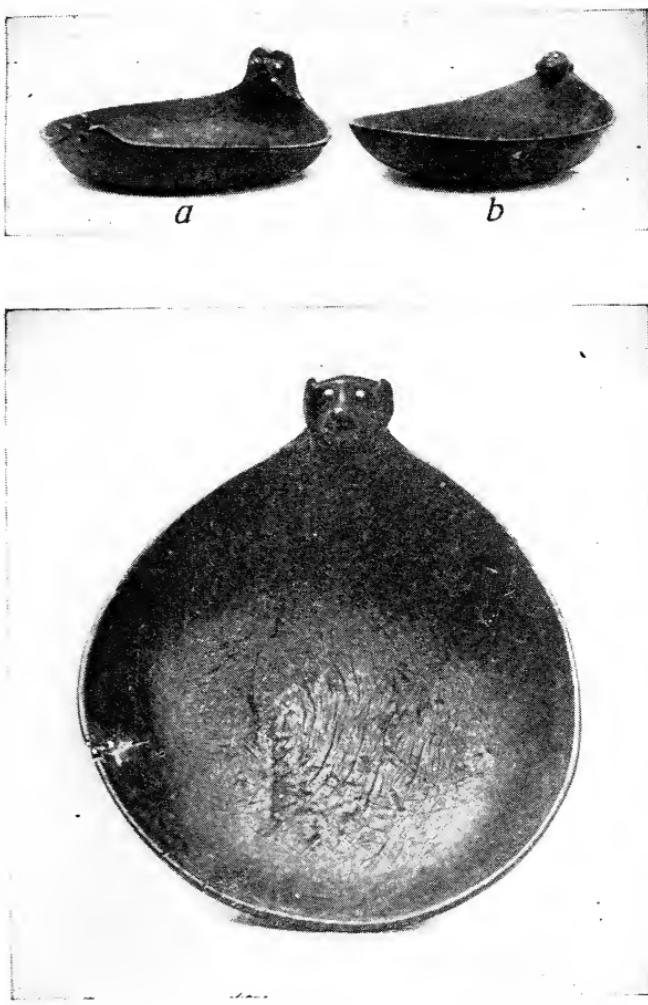
Three song records, made from small pieces of flat board, were obtained from a Wahpeton man and are in the American Museum of Natural History (plate xxIII and fig. 10, 11), while others (pl. xxIV) are in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. These are identical

with those collected from the Menomini, Ojibwa, and other Central Algonkian tribes, and are used in the medicine-lodge, the songs being represented



FIG. 10.—Wahpeton Dakota song records (obverse and reverse).

by mnemonic figures which convey to the mind of the user the precise song and the order in which it is to be sung. These are placed before the singers in the lodge, who use them in rotation, singing first the songs on one side and then turn over the stick to sing the songs on the



## MEDICINE-DANCE FEAST BOWLS

*a*, with carved handle representing an owl's head; *b*, with carved handle representing Iyah, the God of Gluttony; *c*, with handle representing a bear's head.



other. Many of them are now forgotten. In fig. 10, *a*, the following were remembered but could not be identified:

1. A woman's song for the recovery of women from sickness. This song is:

The woman will walk; the woman will walk; the woman will walk sacredly; the woman will walk again.

2. Deer song, used for success in hunting.

3. Deer song.

4. Sacred tipi song for the *Wakan-wacipi*.

5-7. One woman's and two men's sickness songs.

8. Medicine-lodge song.

9. Cloud song.

10. Drum song.

11. *Inktomi*, spider song.

12. Crawfish, or water song.

13. Figure showing a man with a bow in his hand; arrow song.

14. Star (?) song; seems to be connected in some way with a gun.

The reverse of the board (fig. 10, *b*) shows the following:

1. Buffalo song.
2. Song to the four points of the universe (four directions), and the clouds.
3. Lightning song.
4. Thunder song.
5. Arrow song.
6. Thunder song.
7. Drum song.

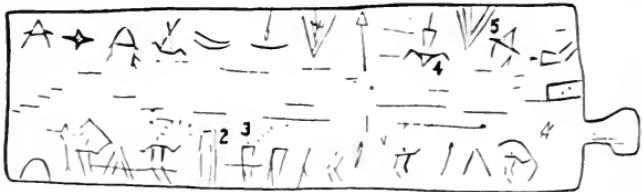
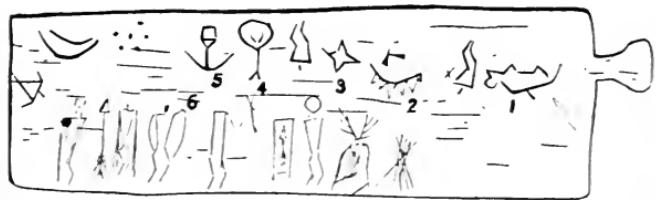
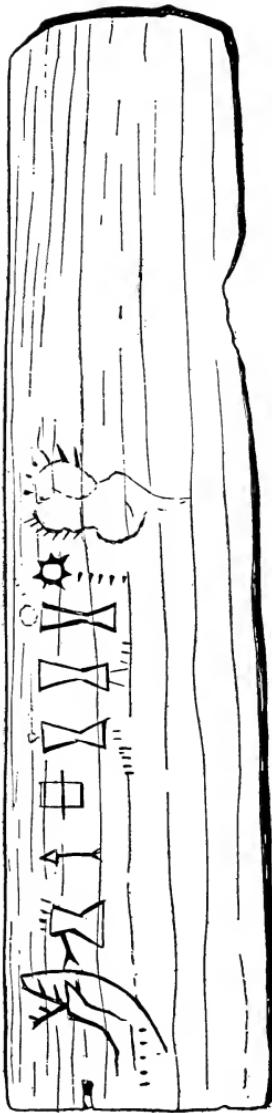


FIG. 11.—Wahpeton Dakota song records (obverse and reverse).

The second record, which is short, has a little knob or handle carved at one end, and contains the following songs (fig. 11):



WAHPETON DAKOTA MEDICINE SONG RECORD OF WOOD, OBVERSE AND REVERSE



1. Buffalo song.
2. Sun song.
3. Summer song.
4. Drum song.
5. Cooking song.
6. Beaver-catching song

On the reverse side:

1. Man's song.
- 2-3. First and second parts of an otter song.
4. Fish song.
5. Spider song.

The large record (pl. XXIII) is used like the others, the name of the song being announced and then the incantation made. It contains the following songs, among others:

1. An unknown song.
2. Second verse of the same.
3. Spider song.
4. Earth song.
6. Song to the stone, the oldest inhabitant of the earth.

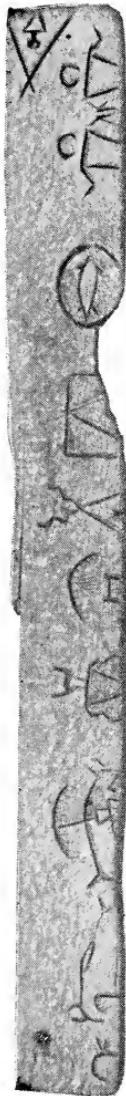
7-8. Wind songs.

9. Cloud song (as follows):

*Dowan waye*  
*Dowan waye he he he!*  
*Mahpiya Wakan*  
*Dowan waye he he he!*

I have caused it to be sung, the mysterious cloud song.

The lodge used for the *Wakan Waciipi* differs from that used by the Winnebago, Menomini, and Potawatomi, at least, in that it is open at the top and not closed in. This resembles the Ojibwa custom. In shape, the lodge is a rectangular enclosure surrounded by a bark or canvas wall three or four feet high. It faces east and west, and there is only one door, at the east. This door is guarded by *akicita*, or accredited braves. Through this leads the dancers' path, which runs straight to the western end. The lodge is longitudinally divided in halves. One half is thickly strewn with red down, the other with white. At the western end the walls end at a conical tipi, the poles of which are only half-covered and whose door is open wide. In the center of this tipi sits the host with his drum, and about



SONG RECORDS OF THE WAHPETON DAKOTA MEDICINE CEREMONY



the sides are squatted his associates, the heads of the various cults that make up the society.

Now, while it is well to note that there is no such tipi used in connection with the Menomini *mitäw'ikomîk*, or medicine-lodge, during a part of the initiation exercises one end of the long tent is closed off with a curtain, and here the candidate is instructed. This perhaps is in some way connected with the Wahpeton tipi. In front of the eastern door of the lodge blazes a fire over which the *akicita*, who police the ceremonies, cook the feast for the performers.

#### ORIGIN MYTH

Wakantanka, the "Great Spirit," came down from above in a rainbow before there was any earth—all was water under the heavens. As the rainbow neared the water, it rose up to meet it, and Wakantanka stood there upon the water.

"I will make something to preserve all the Indians," he said; so he tore out

a rib from his right side and threw it into the sea. It sank beneath the surface, but rose again, and when it arose it was a male *unktehi*<sup>44</sup>. Then Wakantanka tore out a rib from his left side, and cast that into the seething waters, and a female *unktehi* arose.

"You will be leaders of the Indians in their festivals," said Wakantanka to the monsters, and he went back heavenward on the rainbow.

There was no land whatever—all was water, and the two monsters, the *unktehi*, were in the midst of it. "We shall have to get soil and make land," they said. So they called two birds and two mammals to them—the loon, the *titatanka* (diver?), the beaver, and the muskrat.

First the loon dived to get the soil. He stayed down a long time, and then he popped up breast foremost, drowned. The two monsters snatched him with the medicine cry, "Eee, ho, ho, ho, ho!" They blew their medicines upon him and placed him to one side.

Next the *titatanka* was commanded to

dive. He vanished beneath the surface and was gone a long time. Suddenly he floated up again, belly foremost, drowned. The two monsters caught him up, crying, "*Eee, ho, ho, ho, ho!*" blew their medicines upon him, and put him to one side.

Now they ordered the beaver to make the attempt, so he plunged. He was gone so long that the *unktehi* thought, "Surely, this time he will get the earth we need." But he too came up again, floating on his back, drowned. The two *unktehi* took him up, crying, "*Eee, ho ho ho ho!*", blew their medicines upon him, and put him to one side.

Then at last they spoke of the muskrat. "This little one who has long wind, who is very powerful under water, he shall go down!" So the muskrat dived, and he was down a very long time.

The spirits were excited: "He will come! It will be true!" they cried, and surely, he did come up, belly down, so they knew that he had some life. They took him up and examined him, and they found that his forepaws were tightly

clenched. In his right forepaw they found a very little mud, so they took it and gave the medicine yell, "*Eee, ho, ho, ho, ho!*" They blew their medicines upon the muskrat, and laid him down.

Then said the female *unktehi* (for the male spirit knew very little, it seems), "This is the west," and she took the soil and blew it in that direction. Then all the animals came to life and started westward with the two spirits. They journeyed so fast that the rushing of their bodies through the water sounded like a cataract. As they searched, some went on ahead, scouting, but there was no shore in sight, until at last Muskrat saw land in the distance and returned to tell the two spirits. They were very glad. They swam on until they came to a bay, and it looked just like a medicine-lodge, facing the east, because it is said that the Great Spirit died there.

The two *unktehi* entered the lodge and took seats there, and they brought in animals of all kinds, and they all took on the nature of human beings. The

*unktehi* sang the medicine-songs, and the animals came in groups of their own kind and sang. Then they sat down and rose and danced again. They shot each other with birds and eagle-claws, but they could not bring their victims to life, so the *unktehi* taught them to substitute shells (the Ojibwa *migis*) as their missiles. Then the *unktehi* put shells in the bodies of each of the performers that they might have them to use.<sup>45</sup>

After the dance, the birds and the mammals went off and instructed the Indians by appearing to them in dreams, as the two *unktehi* spirits told them to do. The monsters themselves went down under the earth, and there they lie with their ears open to hear the Indians' prayers. From the hairs of these monsters come the grass and herbs and shrubs that are used to compound the medicines utilized by the Indians to cure sickness and heal wounds.

But these plants, when approached in dreams, will reveal themselves as human beings. When you go to dig these plants,

first bury red and white down to clothe them, and sing the song that belongs to the medicine before you dig them up. Four times a year a dog must be slain and thrown into the water for the great spirits, the *unktehi*. These dogs sacrificed must also be covered with red and white down.

#### INITIATION CEREMONY

When a Dakota desires to join the medicine-lodge, he first gives a feast to which he invites the leaders of each of the four bands into which the society is divided. They sit in a circle with the food in the center, and the candidate tells them that he wishes to become one of their number. He asks them to look upon him and permit him to enter. The leaders listen to his request, devour the feast, and give him a modicum of instruction as to the history and purposes of the society, after which they enter a sweat-bath which the candidate has prepared for them.

The sweat-lodge is made of eight (twice four, the sacred number) saplings pro-

vided by the candidate, who has also to provide four stones, which are considered the oldest inhabitants of the earth. Each leader is also given fine new blankets or cloths, "to wipe the sweat from his body," by the candidate.

After the sweat-bath the leaders hold a brief pipe ceremony. All the leaves are brushed away from a small space, and four little holes are made in a row and filled with red and white down. Sitting before these, each leader takes the sacred pipe and holds the pipestem to the ground, saying, "Grandmother [this term applies both to the earth and to the *unk-tehi* monster], smoke this calumet and give me this day something to eat." The stem is then offered to the zenith, with the words, "Wakantanka, give me this day something to eat."

This performance is gone through at least four times by the prospective member. In addition, further knowledge, repetition of instructions, and the like, must also be bought in this manner. My informant sacrificed more than thirty

dogs, which were killed, adorned with red down, and thrown into the water for the *unktehi*. She also purchased information from her parents. Among most tribes where the medicine-lodge is found, it is necessary for the candidate first to purchase the ritual of the lodge and then to undergo initiation before he can be instructed.

When the candidate has made ready a sufficient quantity of goods to pay the band leaders and has secured material for a feast, the medicine-lodge is erected. He also provides red down for the floor of the lodge, to place on the lodge-poles, and for use in the pipe ceremony. The night before the ceremony, the four leaders take the candidate into the sweat-bath again and give him further instructions. The first will tell him the myth of the origin of the society; the next, the ritual; the third, the ten rules of life, and so on. It will be observed, as we proceed, that the "brush ceremony" of the Iowa and Winnebago, in which the candidate receives further instruction out-

side the lodge in the woods, is not practised by the Dakota. All this time the medicine-lodge is being prepared. The ridge-pole is hung with fees, and the entire length of the lodge is strewn half with scarlet down and half with white.

The following instructions are part of the teachings of the leaders to candidates for admission to the medicine-lodge.

“Your own tipi has four sacred poles, and you must respect your lodge now that you are a member of the Medicine Dance. The four sacred poles consist of the three foundation poles and one other which forms the door-post. These poles represent the land tortoise, because of all animals the land tortoise has the strongest paws and is consequently fitted to hold up the lodge. The tent-pins represent little animals with their tiny claws [the tiger salamander, *Ambystoma tigrinum*].

#### *The Ten Rules of Life*

“Rule 1.—Before singing the song which gives a member admission to the

lodge and before entering, you must raise your right hand. This is to ask permission of the friends within to enter. The right arm is consecrated, and you must not pull hair on entering, nor strike with it. In other words, you must not quarrel.

“Rule 2.—In getting water you must remember that water is also sacred. You must make a red-feather sacrifice before dipping it up for the medicine feast. If you omit this, the pickerel will swallow you or drag you into the water.

“Rule 3.—Respect your lodge. No quarreling may be done there. Whenever visitors come, you must respect them and welcome them.

“Rule 4.—Love your neighbors.

“Rule 5.—Respect the fellow members of the *Wakanwacipi*.

“Rule 6.—You must get up a feast for the relatives of deceased brothers and sisters of the lodge, and comfort them.

“Rule 7.—The members of the *Wakanwacipi* are as one and should regard each other equal.

“Rule 8.—When a fellow member dies,

presents must be given. If the deceased is a youth, you must give a man's clothes to the mourners. They must be laid on the body of the deceased, and a new blanket placed over them to cover them. These are to clothe the corpse for the burial.

“Rule 9.—All members are supposed to keep these rules and not tell them to non-members. They must not lie about their neighbors. They must not fornicate. They must be kind to all mankind. If these rules are kept, the members will have long lives.

“Rule 10.—No one may refuse the invitation of friends. Therefore, when invitation sticks arrive you must go.<sup>46</sup>

“When entering the society you will observe, as you are in the sweat-bath, that water is poured on the stones. This is a purification to take away your worldly life and make you a new creature. You must gather red and white down for use in the dance, and also to place on the herbs and medicines whose use you will learn before you pick them up; also, to

strew upon the floor of the lodge, to tie on the frame of the lodge, to throw upon the rocks, and to put in the lake before you dip up the water for the sweat-bath. Each root has its own song; you must put red down on it. Then sing your song and pick it up; but first you must cut a long slash in the ground and then sing. The slash symbolizes the bed of a snake, for each root represents a serpent. When the root has been dug up in this fashion, you may dry it and grind it up.

"If at any time you have not feathers enough for a pipe ceremony, or for any of these functions, you must sacrifice a dog. The dog must be painted blue before this sacrifice."

"The rock which is used in the sweat-bath is your Grandfather; it is one of the first things in the world to be created, and it possesses this song, which must be sung for it:

*"Tukan he miye do*

*Ma wakan he miye do.*

But it is I who am so mysterious.

"The drum which is used in the Med-

icine Dance is made [metaphorically] from the skin of a huge bullfrog, because he cries so loud. The drumstick is made from the gray grouse (*siyotanka*). The drum has this song. First you strike upon it and sing, 'The drum gave us this,' and then you repeat four times—

*"Uncida denicuda cega de he he he wakan  
ide henicu.*

Grandmother gave us this kettle. This kettle (which) is mysteriously boiled.

"This is the first song that is sung when the drum is taken into the lodge. It is struck four times before carrying it in. It is then placed in the center of the west tipi, but after the four strokes it is carried to the east.

"Every medicine-bag has its song. The otter bag has its song, which is sung before entering the lodge, when the member stands at the door:

*"Mitunwan de nicudo*

Unktehi gave you this through the otter.

"The loon bag has its song:

*"Dewakana kinukte de wakan do. Yo O  
ha e ho ho ho!"*

The mystery will come (or appear).  
This is mysterious.

"This song is sung at the western end,  
by the door of the round tipi.

"Another drum song is this:

"This is sacred and it is the only sacred drum.

"This is repeated four times, and like  
all songs has the medicine-cry at the end.

*"Deceeedean wakance wandake kte."*

The only mystery, the mystery, you will  
behold.

"Another song is this, each line re-  
peated twice:

*"Miye wakanyan noka ce mini wanca  
Cokaya onktehe miye wakanyan monk ce.*  
I, who am mysteriously lying in the  
depths of the sea.  
(I), Unktehi, (who) am lying.

"This was sung at the ceremony for  
the dead."

At dawn the candidate is led into the

lodge and seated in the west corner. Four old members are now selected to make ceremonial circuits of the lodge, presumably four each, and then halt before four blankets, the gift of the candidate, which are spread toward the east center of the lodge. In turn each kneels, spreads his otter-skin before him, and vomits forth his sacred arrow or missile supposed to be permanently located in his left breast. At this time each man sings to the music of the drum:

*Dewakan dohooo! Uncida tatonwa tonka*  
Now look at this grandmother her pack great  
*wan de iayasa.*  
make this arrow fly.

If women have been chosen for this part of the performance, they may not sing themselves, but each must ask the leader of her band to sing for her. This is characteristic also of the Iowa. At the close of the song, each performer retches violently, striking his breasts with the palms of his hands, and finally vomiting forth the sacred missile upon his otter-skin.

When this has been accomplished by each of the four performers, then each in turn arises with the sacred missile in the palm of his right hand, and ceremonially circles the lodge, showing the object to each of the four bands, singing meanwhile:

*Wandeiyasa miniyata wakayanyankecin iyasawo.*  
The sacred arrow to be shot is mine.

This song is repeated six times.

After this, each returns to his stand before the blankets, presumably in the same manner as among the Iowa, and swallows the shell. They then take their places, and the candidate is brought forward to the center of the western end and seated, while an old member stands behind him. Sometimes as many as four candidates are taken in at once. Each has an instructor stand behind him. If four are taken in, two men and two women act as instructors, while the candidate is given the sacred missile, in other words is "shot".

The four band leaders now come for-

ward, and line up abreast, opposite him, in the east, facing the candidate. Each then in turn places a missile in the mouth of the otter-skin bag, and shoots it into the candidate's mouth, the shooting being done in the regulation Iowa and Menomini manner. It is the missile which is supposed to remain forever in the neophyte's body.

When the candidate is knocked flat by the force of the last shot, and covered with the blankets which he has provided for his instructor, he is revived by singing four songs and blowing and wiping the medicated root over him; then the *aki-cita*, who have been guarding the entrance, carry in the sacred drumstick, and the new member is ready to participate in the dance. He says, "My friends, have pity on me; I am about to join in this ceremony." He is then ready to dance, but it is announced that he has no moccasins. Accordingly this song is sung:

*Hemiyedo! ihmohanpa hemiye!*  
It is I! Panther shoes, it is I!

The song refers to the panther, who is doubtless connected with the *unktehi*, who can travel a long way and is never tired. Then he is symbolically presented with a cane (*sagei*), which also has its song. The cane represents the bulrush, and symbolizes long life through the medicine-lodge. He is told that the Medicine Dance is supposed to be held under water, and the bulrushes are at the door (edge) of the lake where the patron of the dance, the *unktehi*, dwells. He must sacrifice dogs at the door if he would keep in the good graces of the *unktehi*, and if he is in danger of his life at any time, he need only grasp a bulrush.

The candidate again addresses the assembled company: "My friends, be merciful to me, for I am now about to take part in this ceremony which I have obtained." He then takes his medicine-bag in his left hand, retches forth the sacred missile, sings a sacred song, and begins taking active part as a real member. The gifts on the ridge-pole of the lodge are equally divided among the four

leaders, the four shell vomiters each receive the blanket that was spread before them, while the shell shooters get the blankets upon which the candidate fell and with which he was covered.

This is the regular form of initiation. Instead, however, of buying their way in of their own accord, persons may be given the medicine-bag of a deceased member of his or her own sex, and requested to join to take the place of the deceased. According to my informants, the ceremony of raising a candidate to fill the place of an old member does not differ in any particular from that described. There is only one degree. In concluding this section, I cannot do better than to quote the statements of the editor of the *Dakota Friend* as reprinted in the *Minnesota Historical Collections* (vol. I, p. 269), as many additional details are given.

"When a member is received into this Society, it is his duty to take the hot bath four days in succession. In the mean time, some of the *elders* of the society instruct him in the mysteries of the medicine, and Wahmnoo-hah—shell in the throat.

He is also provided with a dish (*wojute*) and spoon. On the side of the dish is sometimes carved the head of some voracious animal, in which resides the spirit of Eeyah (glutton god). This dish is always carried by its owner to the Medicine Feast, and it is his duty, ordinarily, to eat all which is served up in it. Grey Iron has a dish which was given him at the time of his initiation, on the bottom of which is carved a bear complete. The candidate is also instructed with what paints and in what manner he shall paint himself, which must always be the same, when he appears in the dance. There is supernatural virtue in this paint and the manner in which it is applied, and those who have not been furnished with a better by the regular war prophets, wear it into battle as a life preserver. The bag contains besides, the claws of animals with the toanwan of which they can, it is believed, inflict painful diseases and death on whomsoever and whenever they desire.

"The candidate being thus duly prepared for initiation, and having made the necessary offerings for the benefit of the institution, on the evening of the day previous to the dance, a lodge is prepared, and from ten to twenty of the more substantial members pass the night in singing, dancing and feasting. In the morning, the tent is opened for the dance. After a few appropriate ceremonies preliminary to the grand operation, the candidate takes his place on a pile of blankets

which he has contributed for the mysterious operation naked except the breech-cloth and moccasins, duly painted and prepared for the mysterious operation. An elder having been stationed in the rear of the novice, the master of the ceremonies, with his knee and hip joints bent to an angle of about forty-five degrees, advances with an unsteady, unnatural step, with his bag in his hand, uttering "*Heen, heen, heen,*" with great energy, and raising the bag near a painted spot on the breast of the candidate, gives the discharge, the person stationed in the rear gives him a push forward at the same instant, and as he falls headlong, throws the blankets over him. Then while the dancers gather around him and chant, the master throws off the covering, and chewing a piece of the bone of the Oanktayhee, spirts it over him, and he revives and resumes a sitting posture. All then return to their seats except the master; he approaches and making indescribable noises, pats upon the breast of the novice, till the latter, in agonizing throes, heaves up the Wahmnoo-hah or shell, which falls from his mouth upon the bag which had been previously spread before him for that purpose. Life being now completely restored, and with the mysterious shell in his open hand, the new made member passes around and exhibits it to all the members and to the wondering bystanders, and the ceremonies of initiation are closed. The dance continues, interspersed with shooting each

other, rests, smoking and taking refreshments, till they have jumped to the music of four sets of singers. Besides vocal music, they make use of the drum and the gourd-shell rattle. The following chants which are used in the dance, will best exhibit the character of this mysterious institution of the Oanktayhee:

*“Waduta ohna micage.  
Waduta ohna micage.  
Miniyata ite wakan de maqu,  
Tunkanixdan.*

(Translation)

He created it for me inclosed in red down.  
He created it for me inclosed in red down.  
He in the water with a mysterious visage gave me  
this,

My grandfather.

*Tunkanixdan pejihuta wakan micage,  
He wicake.  
Miniyata oicage wakan kin maqu ye,  
Tunkanixdan ite kin yuwinta wo.  
Wahutopa yuha ite yuwinto wo.*

(Translation)

My grandfather created for me mysterious medicine,  
That is true.

The mysterious being in the water gave it to me.  
Stretch out your hand before the face of my  
grandfather,  
Having a quadruped, stretch out your hand be-  
fore him.”<sup>47</sup>

## THE CEREMONIES

When it is decided to hold a ceremony, invitations are sent out. These are colored quills, dyed and striped like those used by the Menomini. There is no special time of the year for this, my informants stated, although the other tribes from which we have data have a spring and fall ceremony. The invitation quills are sent with tobacco to the band leaders, who re-send them to the members. The bands collect at their leaders' lodges, where a smoking ceremony is held. The leader holds the pipe to the earth, saying, "Grandmother, bring strength to our bodies, that we may take part in this dance." The pipe is then offered to the otter-skin bags and to *Wakantanka*, with the same words.

When the lodge is erected and all is in readiness, the dancers approach in groups, each group, according to Jingling-cloud, being of a cult whose members had the same animal dream guardian in common, except one, the Becdeka, or Sauk cult. This is considered one of the most im-

portant of the groups, and is the pre-eminent order among the Santee Dakota. The songs of the Becdeka are in the Sauk language. Another important band is the Tree Dwellers (pl. xxv).<sup>48</sup> Mrs Grayshawl, however, insisted that the Sauk band is the only one which has a fixed title, the others being named after their leaders. The Sauk band occupies the east position; the others apparently take their places according to the order of arrival, as among the Iowa.

Each group lines up before the door, facing west, and sings a certain song which entitles them to admission. Then, on some occasions, the leader performs a sleight-of-hand trick.<sup>49</sup> He shows, for instance, a bag, in the bottom of which is an empty nest. When all are satisfied that the nest is empty, he proceeds to produce in it two *hontka* (water-birds), or something else, which stick out their heads, look at each other, and utter their characteristic cry. When this trick is concluded, the group passes on into the lodge up to the tipi, which they face, and



MEDICINE PACKET CONTAINING WOODEN IMAGE OF TREE-DWELLER  
AND VARIOUS CHARMS AND MEDICINES



then sing. They circle and repeat this performance four times, then they return and take seats along the side wall. Other groups follow in similar manner, some showing a pair of loons, crows, chicken-hawks, mink, or some other animal. After each performance the audience cries, "*E, ho, ho, ho, ho!*"

The leader of the last group, which, according to Jingling-cloud, is made up of the Kingfisher cult, produces what seems to be a stuffed kingfisher-skin. This suddenly comes to life, flies around the lodge, and strikes one of the members, who falls as if dead. Then it returns to its owner and appears as a stuffed bird. The audience cries, "*E, ho, ho, ho, ho!*" and then the members of one of the cults lay blankets on the unconscious man. The Kingfisher band leader comes up singing and shaking his gourd rattle. He pats the body of his victim, and brings out the bloody claw of an eagle, or of some other bird, which he shows to the members at large, and the unconscious man then comes to life. It must be remem-

bered, however, that it is not certain that these bands are composed of those having the same dream, as Mrs Grayshawl claims that a person could join any band to which he chose to apply.

Once in a while the victim of the shooting is a man whose "medicine is so strong" that he can return to life without assistance. It is well known that such a powerful *candojuhayuha* (medicine-bag owner, i.e., a member of the lodge) can throw back the claw shot into him to the original sender, and that this will kill him. Consequently it is customary under such circumstances for the original sender to give his recovered victim a horse to save himself, and he then receives the "arrow" quietly in his hand.

Many songs are the property of the lodge in general and of no particular cult. They proceed from left to right, first one band, then another, singing. Each group has four dance songs, and after each dance the members walk about the lodge holding their bags in their left hands, head forward, about breast high. As they

pass the place where the drum is to be next, that is, the next band to their left, they give the medicine-cry.

The drum is kept in the western tipi by the host or leader, who calls out to the groups as they come into the lodge, ordering them to take the drum and sing as the animal tricks are performed. There is a secret dance at night when those who have the shell (*wamunha*) in their bodies throw them out and display them, a custom reminiscent of certain practices of the Menomini. It is further stated that some powerful members can take a mouthful of sand, chew it up, and spit forth beads.

#### FUNERAL CEREMONY

When a member of the lodge dies, a lock of hair is cut from his head, tied with ribbon, and wrapped in a large bundle of blankets, clothes, and calicoes. A year or more after this, the bundle is taken and placed in the candidate's seat in the west center of the lodge, while over it is hung a pole covered with garments.

Four sets of food are provided for a feast, for it is thought that the ghost enters each four times before it arrives in the other world. Before the feast four songs are sung, each band giving one. The feast is then partaken and the mourners put on new clothes and end their sorrowing.

The leaders of the bands are called on to sing, each group giving one song. These leaders each take one set of garments and one set of feast material. They arise one at a time and circle the lodge from left to right, passing the entrance. They begin the song as they pass the eastern door. When they arrive at the west, they stop in the center and face the bundle, with both hands raised, and say, "Friends be merciful to me, and I will now sing a song of the departed." Then he repeats the following verse:

"This is a sacred day [repeated four times];  
This spirit is the most sacred of all [repeated four times]."

When the leader reaches the word

"spirit," he lays his hands on the bundle, and all those present give the medicine-cry, "*E ho ho ho!*"

Then one of his band comes forward and takes the clothes and goods belonging to that division over to the place where they are seated, and the articles are distributed. When this has been done by all four bands, the mourners put on new clothes and end their sorrowing. The hair which has been in the bundle is kept by the relatives, and the offerings placed on the bundle by friends before the songs were sung by the leaders are taken up by the mourners and carried into the western tipi to give to the leaders there. Many of these objects are of considerable value. Mrs Gray-shawl took off her own robe on one occasion and laid it on the bundle. The otter-skin bag of the deceased is given to a man or a woman of the same age and appearance as the dead person, and later the recipient is raised to the position of a member of the lodge, as described elsewhere.

## SUMMARY OF THE WAHPETON DAKOTA CEREMONY

## ORIGIN MYTH

Wakantanka descends to the sea, creates Unkteli monsters from his ribs, and returns to the heavens. The Uhktehi cause muskrat to dive under the waters and bring them mud, of which they create the earth. They then originate the medicine-lodge with the assistance of the animals, who form bands of their own species. The birds and beasts later appear to the Indians in dreams and instruct them in the rites of the lodge.

## INITIATION CEREMONY

The candidate feasts the four band leaders and requests them to admit him; then he gives them a ceremonial sweat-bath. The leaders next hold a pipe ceremony.

This is repeated four times by the candidate, who then provides the appropriate paraphernalia. A medicine-lodge is erected and gifts are hung from the cen-

tral pole. The leaders take the candidate into the sweat-lodge for instruction the night before the ceremony, the instruction including the "ten rules of life."

At dawn the candidate is taken into the sacred building. He is led in turn by four old members round the lodge and halted before a gift of four blankets, spread toward the east center. Each leader kneels, sings, and vomits forth the *migis*. If women have been chosen for this part, they must get the male leaders of their bands to sing for them. Each old member now circles the lodge, showing the *migis* to the members. After this each returns to the blankets and swallows the missile.

The candidate is now brought forward to the west center and seated, with an old member standing behind him. The four band leaders now line up in the opposite end of the lodge, facing the candidate. Each "shoots" the candidate, the force of the last shot knocking him prone.

The candidate is revived and raised, the guards bring in the sacred drumsticks,

and the new member is now ready to take part in the dance. He receives certain songs and symbolic presents, after which he retches up the sacred missile, sings, and takes active part in the rites.

The gifts on the ridge-pole are now divided among the band leaders.

When a person is initiated to take the place of a dead member, no payment is required on his part, but the ceremonies are the same.

#### FUNERAL CEREMONY

On death of a member, a lock of hair is taken from the corpse and placed in a bundle of clothes. A year later the bundle is placed in the candidate's seat in the medicine-lodge structure, that is, in the west center.

The band leaders and their groups each sing one song in turn, and each takes from the ridge-pole one set of presents provided for him, and is given a quantity of feast material of which four sets are also provided.

Each leader circles the lodge with his

band from left to right, passing the entrance. Then he stops at the west and faces the death bundle, where he sings. A member of each band then comes over and distributes the goods to the members, who remain in their proper places during the performance.

## NOTES ON THE PONCA PEBBLE SOCIETY

The Pebble Society, called *Wacickani*, or *Waxobi Watugari*, has been so long extinct among the Ponca that practically nothing was remembered by the writer's informants, Big Goose and Charlie Collins, in 1914. The data obtained, however, go to show that it has many points in common with the Southern Siouan form. There were four leaders, admission was by purchase, a long Medicine-dance structure was erected, and the ceremonial shooting was the same. The society is supposed to have been derived from some more easterly tribe.

Members bought their way into this society. They got together blankets, calicoes, food, and eagle-wings, and gave them to the four leaders, who divided them, the other members getting nothing. The candidate usually asked to have his whole family, wife and children, taken

in at the same time, but it is said that as a rule only the candidate and his wife were accepted.

The candidates were instructed how to do things, and to live good lives. If a candidate did as he was told, he was ultimately given a medicine-bag of otter, beaver, or raccoon skin. Formerly, in remote times, it took four years to become a member. A member possessed the privilege of passing on his knowledge, by purchase, to his eldest son, who might buy it of him instead of from one of the four leaders. If he had no son, he might sell it to his nearest relative. In any case, he had to inform the society of his intention. The officers were: four leaders, two waiters, and a herald; and there were an indefinite number of members, both male and female.

Each member of the society had his or her own song. They painted their faces red from the ears down, and carried their medicine-bags in their right hands and their eagle-wing fans in the left. They shot magic pebbles with their bags

into each other during parts of their ceremonies, and whoever was shot had to return the missile by shooting back. Before shooting, members cried, "*Hex! hex! hex! hex!*" This was during the individual songs. If a member allowed an outsider to touch one of the pebbles, it was good luck. They rubbed these magic stones on the sick in order to cure them. They could use them likewise for evil and kill people or lame horses by shooting.

Their ceremonies were held in the summer in a long lodge roofed with tent-covers and brush. The leaders sat in order of entrance. Before quitting, four songs were sung, and the man on the left went out first. There was a sacred pipe which they smoked and then cleaned before eating. The herald wore a buffalo-robe, the hair-side outward, about his waist, painted his face with clay, and wore a white feather. One of the leaders had a white weasel-skin medicine-bag, and possessed the power to make it cry out.

NOTES ON THE MIDEWIN CEREMONY OF THE BUNGI BAND OF PLAINS OJIBWA

The following meager data were gathered from the Bungi band of Plains Ojibwa, on the Long Plains reserve, Manitoba, during the early summer of 1913, and are given for comparison with the Menomini material. The writer's informants were Dauphin Myran, Ogimaúwinini, George Beatty, and Pizíki.

Among the Bungi it is apparent that the ceremonies of this society are founded on the myths of Nänibozhu, and although they were not obtained, covert conversation with the old men led the writer to infer that these myths closely resemble those of the Menomini. It is added that the society and its ritual were first obtained by an elder who received it from the Powers Above. This seems to correspond with the Menomini story (p. 72),

where Mä'näbus gives the society to an old man.

Among the Bungi, persons join the *Midéwin*, or Medicine Lodge Society, only in fulfilment of a vow made while sick, especially in winter. Sometimes a man whose child is ill will send a messenger to some elder who is a member, with this message:

“My child is ill. I am going to pray for help, and afterward, if it recovers, I’ll take it into the *Midéwin*.”

As a matter of fact, no one ever considers himself absolved from this vow. If the child dies, some other member of the family, whether it be brother, sister, father, mother, cousin, or any relative (for either sex may join), is initiated in the place of the deceased. When a person is taken into the society in place of a deceased would-be candidate, the ceremony is called *Jipai Midéwiwin*, or “Ghost Midéwiwin.”

When the appropriate time has come, the novice procures a number of blankets, calicoes, and other gifts, and goes to the

elders to buy information. He is instructed by them and given a medicine-bag of weasel, mink, otter, beaver, or fish skin (though the Bungi do not use snake-skins), or of some other small animal. This bag is furnished with the *megisē* and *konäpämik*<sup>50</sup> shells, and certain paints and medicines. The novice swallows a seed in a drink furnished him at the initiation, and is, so far as could be ascertained, initiated by shooting in the regular Ojibwa form, for the Bungi claim their *Midéwin* differs very little from that of the Ojibwa proper, with whom they sometimes come in contact. A dog feast is connected with the ceremony. More definite information could not be secured at Long Plains at the time of the writer's visit, because of the strict secrecy in which the order is veiled.

The medicine-lodge is rectangular, and is really an enclosure, for its sides are boughs, about four feet high, stuck in the ground, and it is uncovered, unlike the lodge of some Central Algonkian tribes, such as the Menomini and Potawatomi,

and the Winnebago. The regular place of entrance is in the east, but at funeral ceremonies it is in the west. Before taking part in the rites, the performers take a sweat-bath to purify themselves.

Four degrees are recognized by the Bungi, but there are very few Indians who attain the fourth and highest step. Among the Long Plains band, there are said to be none who have done so, though a number have taken three.<sup>51</sup>

The badges of the four degrees are facial paintings. For the first degree a transverse stripe of red is drawn across the face. Other paint may be added, but it has no significance. For the second degree, two transverse bars are marked. For the third, a red inverted Y-shaped stripe is made on the face, black is daubed about the mouth, and the nose is colored black or green. For the fourth degree, one eye is circled with red and the other (right) is spotted about and the ear painted. (See fig. 12.)

Often members pass from degree to degree in gratitude for cures from illness

for which they made vows. The elders warned novices never to accept a bear-skin medicine-bag and its rituals from any old member. Such a bag is always evil.

The bulk of the data gathered concerns two birch-bark charts, or records, obtained from members of the society. Un-

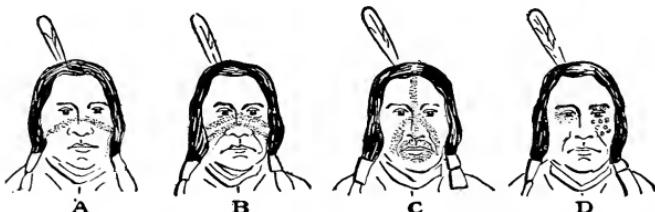


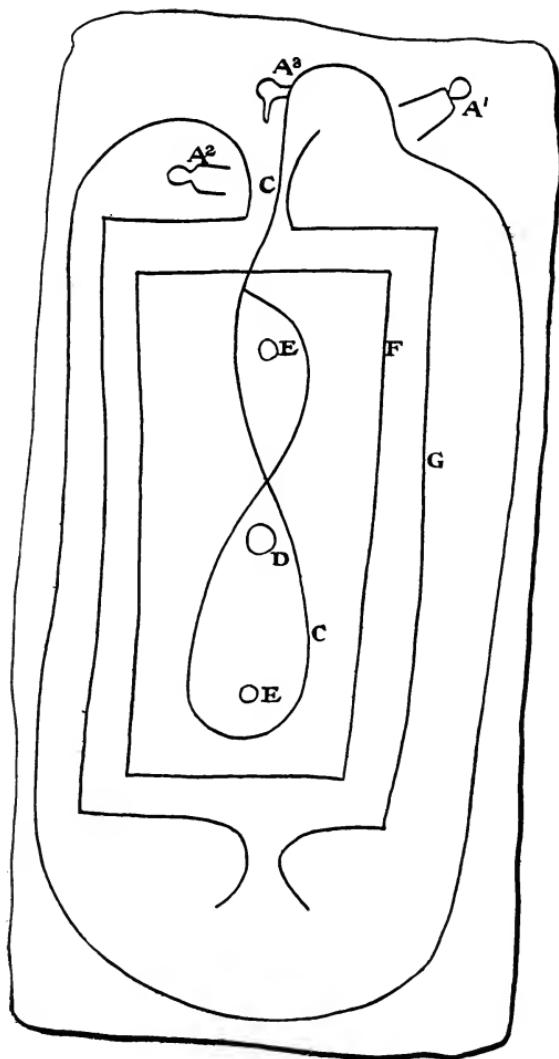
FIG. 12.—Mide facial paintings showing degrees.  
Plains Ojibwa.

fortunately the actual specimens were lost in transit from the field to the American Museum, but the figures are copied from rough drawings made on the spot by the writer.

Records such as this are the property of the leaders of the first degree, or those who have been such, and are never owned by the laity. They are memoranda of the ritual of entrance, and there are records

for each degree and for each separate ceremony of each degree. A few persons, such as the brother of Wapikíniwap of Cowesess reserve, who resides at Swan Lake, who are members of the fourth degree, have in their possession, or are supposed to have, the "birch-barks" for each rite. These are all believed to have been copied from the original bark records given to the Indians at the first *mitéwíkomik* (or lodge) built by the society. When the original barks were worn out, they were carefully imitated, and so on until today. They are all supposed to be identical wherever the medicine-lodge is found, in whatsoever tribe, and any member who sees a birch-bark belonging to his degree should find it instantly intelligible.

These records should always be carefully kept with tobacco or medicine, or both, and are very sacred. The Bungi, unlike the Cree, transmit them from father to son, and do not bury them with the owner. Of course, if the son is not a member, he cannot read or use the



BIRCH-BARK CHART OF THE BUNGI MIDEWIN FIRST DEGREE



barks, and can understand them only as far as he has gone, if he be a member.

The bark record (pl. xxvi) gives the instructions for holding the *Jipai Midé-win*, or funeral ceremony of the first degree. *G* represents the lodge, facing east, with a western door. *A<sup>1</sup>* represents the leader (of the first degree) setting out on his journey at the head of his flock, going from east to west about the lodge. This is repeated four times, and each time the leader (*A<sup>2</sup>*) pauses at the right of the door and sings. On the fourth round he enters and passes to the west, *A<sup>3</sup>* singing:

*Ninahazika<sup>n</sup> nazika, ha, ha,*  
*Ninahazika<sup>n</sup> nazika, ha, ha,*  
*Ninahazika<sup>n</sup> nazika, ha, ha,*  
*Ninahazika<sup>n</sup> nazika, ha, ha,*  
*Mité, hé hé wicomik hé, hé.*

Stripped of its refrain, sung to confuse the hearers, this song means merely "Enter this lodge."

On entering the lodge, a fire is seen to burn at the east and at the west. In the center is situated a pole with a stone altar at the foot. Upon the pole is hung a lot

of cloth and other goods sacrificed by the Indians. The leader passes the eastern fire on the right, and the pole and western fire on the left, as he leads his party through the lodge in a huge figure eight. After making the circuit four times, the leader and his followers pause, and go to their proper places. This is as far as this birch-bark goes. The oblong (*F*) marks the course of the leader about the lodge during the opening of an ordinary first-degree performance.

The roll should always be kept wrapped up with tobacco and a couple of tiny leather bags containing medicines. These should be chewed and sprinkled all over the body from head to foot, some swallowed, and the medicines themselves carried over the heart. They are *pizikiwas*, or buffalo medicine.<sup>52</sup> The other medicine is called *muskigwûs*.

The roll shown (fig. 13, 14) was obtained from Ogimauwinini (Chief of Men) and is a chart showing the four degrees of the *Midéwin* and their requirements and benefits. Years ago, Ogimauwinini went

to a *kitci-mitéo*, or past-master of the medicine-lodge, then residing at a place called Broken Head. Ogimauwinini paid a

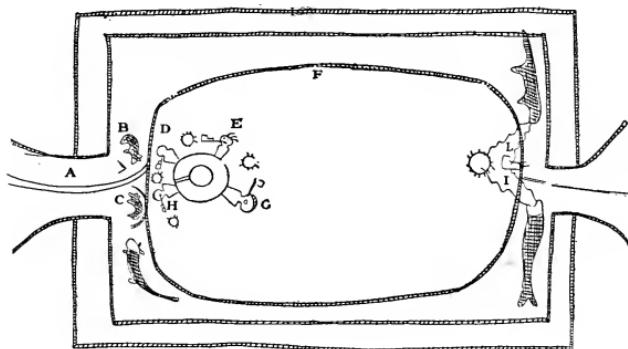


FIG. 13.—Birch-bark medicine ceremony record of the Plains Ojibwa.

horse to the old man, Nänigis (Someone-shaking), to be taught the secrets of the four degrees in order that he might establish an accepted lodge at Long Plains. Nänigis taught Ogimauwinini all of one side of the roll, up to the third degree, but the fourth was unfinished when the old man died. With the roll belongs a small wooden bowl intended to contain food at the feast, which must be made when it is

unfolded, and a birch-bark rattle to accompany the songs.

Ogimauwinini never opened the roll, excepting when he first received it, until he transferred it to the writer. He claimed that it was the oldest and greatest of the rolls, and "descended," through copying, from the original roll which first was made to contain the directions and ritual of the four degrees. Tobacco was always kept with the roll and, when very hard and dry, it can be rendered flexible and easy to unroll by warming it gently over the fire.

When opened, tobacco is placed on each figure. The chart (fig. 13) is explained as follows: *A* is the track or road of the members of the *Mitéwin* which leads by *B* and *C*, *manituk* (manitus) for the first degree into the lodge, where are shown, *D*, *E*, *G*, and *H*, the masters of the four degrees, each with his pipe and fire. They seem to be grouped two-and-two, the first and second with the third and fourth. The candidate, when a member of the third degree,

gets to *F*, the boundary of the lodge, but passes *I-L*, the two great *manituk*, when he becomes a fourth-degree member.

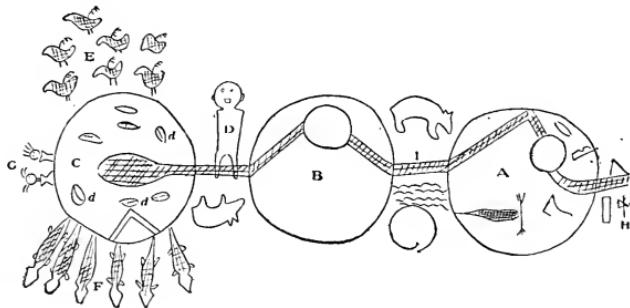


FIG. 14.—Birch-bark medicine ceremony record of the Plains Ojibwa.

The other side (fig. 14) shows the three upper degrees, but, as I understand, it is only given by those who have taken the fourth and are *kítci mitéo*, or past-masters. Unfortunately this side is not well known to Ogimauwinini, as his instructor died while at work here with him. The first circle (*A*) represents the second degree, and contains its secrets. The second (*B*) holds the rites of the third, and *C*, the third and last, shows the fourth. It is filled with the *migisuk* (*D*), or magic shell

emblems of the society, and is under the protection of the great *midé* gods (E), the thunderers, and (F) the otters (?). The figure G represents the master of the lodge in the role of the *ukema mitéo* (chief or master *mitéo*, or, as I have called it, "past-master"). He is thus head of the *ukema mitéwin*, or master's degree, and hence of the entire lodge, and is the chief of the four leaders (one for each degree) who convene at all ceremonies. The animal figures observed from time to time are *manituk*. The pipe (H) stands for peace, prayer, and purity. The human figure (D) astride the path (I), followed by the *mité* candidate for leadership in the fourth, I believe is the sergeant-at-arms, or tiler, who seeks especially to prevent the unworthy from entering. The other figures are unexplained. Note that the path resembles a snake.

The following ritual for the all-night ceremony of the third degree is read into the birch-bark as given here. The names of the functionaries are omitted, as are

the names of the *manituk* (or *manitus*) referred to. It was impossible to obtain these, as they are too sacred, and Assiniboin or Ogemaauwinini would not even repeat them to a *mité* brother not of this degree. It is understood, however, that these *manituk* are the chiefs of the world tiers above and below, and hence, judging by the Menomini precedents, and from conversation with the old man from whom the bark was obtained, several were identified by the writer, to the informant's surprise. I will not, however, attempt to give them their titles, and will refer only definitely to those identified in the presence of the Indians.

On the drawing here shown on the chart within the oblong representing the *mitewikomik*, are shown several functionaries whose places are not marked on the bark original. When the lodge is convened, the heads of the four degrees sit in the northwest corner of the lodge; half-way down the side sit two functionaries; at the corners, two more each.

The lodge opens when the chief *mitéo*,

the head of the fourth degree, who is seated at *D*, arises and speaks concerning the lodge and its supernatural relations. Then another speaks, and so on. When the head of the first degree prays, he finishes by turning the responsibility over to the officers opposite, who thank him, and first one and then the other prays. These prayers are all for health and long life. The praying is turned over next to the two officers opposite, who in turn thank those who first spoke, and so on. The last two to pray refer to the otter and the great snake or fish monster, shown by them in the chart particularly. These gods are among the ancient masters and givers of the *Mitéwin*, the *Okemamitewúk*.

The Panther and Bear gods, drawn at the entrance, also belong to this group. During the prayers by the partners, all sit with bowed heads and closed eyes. The speaker raises his hands skyward, appeals for long life, and refers especially to the four gods shown at the two doors. These certainly must be the heads of the

lower world. Dauphin Myran, an informant, said a gun, a trap, or some metallic object is always reserved for them and buried as a sacrifice to them. Metal came from below, hence it is appropriate. "You too must help me in our quest for long life." He mentions them all by name, and then asks the four degree leaders to continue the ceremony. They acquiesce and carry the prayer the same way as before, until the prayer has again reached the same officers. The last of these arises and says, "I shall now try to follow the path of the gods" (the outline of the lodge is so called). Then all rise, and he carries the water-drum, which was beside him, to the center of the lodge opposite the western door, while his associate joins him with the rattle. Then both repeat that they will try to follow the path of the gods. The leader bows his head and motions his right hand, with raised palm outward, in a circle, praying: "May all the gods have pity on me. If I do wrong, it will not be purposely." He then marches down the left side to the

east, followed by his companion. He carries the drum, the other the rattle. As he passes the four leaders, he strikes the drum once before each as a salute; before the two at the side he strikes twice, and the same at the two opposite. Before passing the door, he shakes once, then circles where the drawing on the bark shows the four degrees personified (?), or leaders of the degrees with their pipes and fire, striking his drum four times in salute. He then passes on, saluting the officers at the other corner and the center. When back, he circles twice before the western door and comes to a halt, and then takes the drum to the grand master, saying, "I am through with my part."

The leader cries, "*Migwetc! Migwetc!*" ("Thanks, thanks; I am thankful"), takes the drum, and begins to chant the *mité* songs. All then arise and dance where they stand. When this is finished, he is followed by the master of the third degree, and so on. When the first degree is finished, the ceremony is over. (I am not certain whether all dance when

each leader sings, or only members of that degree. A fourth-degree member should be able to dance at any lower-degree song.)

The *mitewikomik* has one door when erected for a ceremony of the first degree, two for a second-degree rite, etc.

The drawing in fig. 14, or the "old side," shows in the three circles the three higher degrees. Presiding over the lodge is the great underground Bear who gave the lodge to mankind. This corresponds with the Menomini legend, that the Powers Below gave the lodge to Mä'näbus.

The Bungi seem to have this myth, judging by conversation in which they made some suggestive remarks on the subject; but as the myth is very sacred, I have not yet secured it, despite all endeavors. *I* represents the medicine-bag, badge, and tool of the lodge.

When a person is taken into the first degree, the four leaders instruct him in its secrets and give him the appropriate medicines, each of which is supposedly

represented in these circles showing the doors. This is repeated for each degree.

*D*, the man astride the path, is explained as a leader whose duty is to pray for fair weather and long life of the great Bear God opposite, who in turn begs the Otters (*F*) to intercede for him; they take it to the Thunderers (*E*). The latter beg to be excused for causing the rain to fall when they go to see Gitci Manitu, as they cannot help bringing rain when they move. The thunderers are the *skaupe-wisûk*, or servants, to Gitci Manitu, which corresponds with the Menomini idea. They intercede with Gitci (Tci) Manitu personally, as it is by his own order that they carry such prayers to him.

A badge of the *Midéwin*, made of two hawk-feathers, was collected. It is worn to show that the owner is a member of the second degree.

## ORIGIN MYTH OF THE POTA- WATOMI MEDICINE- LODGE<sup>53</sup>

To begin with, there was a mighty God, greater than all. He created the lower gods under him, between the heavens and the earth and under the earth, and each of them had servants, both good and evil. The first human being that was known was Mänäboso, who ruled all the Powers of this earth, and the lower powerful gods and animal monsters in the tiers beneath the earth.

Mänäboso had a brother, by name Napatâ, or Onapatâ, and they were both in charge of this earth above and below, and of all existing fowls of the air. The lower powers saw Mänäboso and his good brother, and they became jealous because he was more powerful. The lower gods consulted to try Mänäboso and see if he was really greater than

they in strength, so they stole his brother Onapatâ, and hid him under the earth among them.

Then Mänäboso missed his brother and began to weep for him, so that his crying shook all the Powers of this earth and above because of his sobs, and the tears from his eyes almost brought the Gods Beneath to the surface of this earth, and filled each of them with consternation, and they soon discovered that Mänäboso was the cause.

The Powers Above, as well as the Lower Ones, soon saw that they were in danger, so the powerful Fowl Gods said to the ones below that they had better give up the stolen brother or else the world would soon end. Then all the gods held council together to see what could be done to make up with Mänäboso, and they tried to conciliate him by returning his brother to him; but Mänäboso refused because he had already wept too long for him. When all the servants of the Powers tried their best to win Mänäboso over and had failed, there was only one that

was able to make peace with him, and this was the Great Spirit, and he sent his servant the Otter. Otter went to Mänäboso and told him to cease his sorrowing and weeping; he promised to return the lost brother, and told Mänäboso he was invited by his great Grandfathers to come into the medicine-lodge. Otter did this through his brilliant appearance, which gave great satisfaction to Mänäboso.

So Mänäboso did come, and he was received into the medicine-lodge and was given the medicines by all the Grandfathers, and the thing was taught Mänäboso in the way now existing among all Indians.

When Napatâ came to his brother, Mänäboso said it was too late; he had cried too much and he could not accept him any more. This was on the fourth day, and Mänäboso could not look at him, as he had considered his brother dead; so he handed him his fire and told him to keep on his journey and make preparations to receive his uncles and aunts, the people, after their death.

It would have come about through Napatâ that any Indian who died would have come to life again on the fourth day, but Mänaboso did not like this, so he favored the plan that the dead should go to the west. So the Otter servant has made it, and to the present day the only change that takes place is that when a member of the medicine-lodge dies, some one else is initiated to take his place for the second time, the Otter being great, having four feet each bearing a powerful medicine and a song which is sacred, and which governs the whole Medicine Dance and the customs of life, both good and evil.

## NOTES

1. Radin, P., Ritual and Significance of the Winnebago Medicine Dance, *Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore*, vol. xxiv, p. 149, Apr.-June 1911.
2. Fletcher, Alice C., and La Flesche, F., The Omaha Tribe, *27th Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethn.*, Washington, 1911.
3. An unpublished manuscript in the library of the New York Historical Society.
4. Hoffman, p. 11, et seq.
5. Hoffman, p. 78.
6. Hoffman, p. 81.
7. This is not an actual song used in the lodge, but an imitation made and approved by my instructor and by Mr Satterlee.
8. The origin myth of the lodge does not deal with the birth of the culture-hero, as it is assumed that all well-informed candidates are acquainted with this important myth. It takes up his career well along in life, and deals with him when he is first delegated to be the ruler of the earth. In like manner I shall follow strictly the notes I have taken from my tutor's lips and shall omit the chapters in the hero's career prior to those with which we are concerned. These have been published, together with all of the collected hist-

ory of Mä'näbus, in Skinner and Satterlee, Folklore of the Menomini Indians (*Anthropological Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, xiii, no. 3, New York, 1915). It will be observed that this myth, like most other true myths found in the tribe, is stiff and formal in its phraseology and style of narration, and is burdened with interminable repetitions.

9. Note that this priestly version of the tale is very different from the popular, non-sacred myth, in which Mä'näbus receives his companion from the wolf with whom he has been hunting.

10. This decoy was Wafäbskinit Apä'sos, the White Underground Deer, though in this version its identity is not mentioned.

11. Though not mentioned by name by my teacher, these first four are called *ukémäuwük* (chiefs) or *púcwäwük*. The singular forms of the terms are *ukímau* and *púcwäo*.

12. B-B in the diagram. These four men are called *osehauwük* (singular, *osehau*), or sometimes they are styled *wenowük* (singular *weno*), assistants.

13. This section seems to the writer to be due to missionary influence.

14. At this point the informant brought out his medicine-bags, pouches and rattles, and water-drum, together with the drum which had belonged to his recently deceased brother-in-law. He offered tobacco to all these objects, since we had

been speaking of them, and with a propitiatory speech he caused them to be put away again.

15. The *pa'pewin* is a trick performed during the initiation exercises to impress candidates with the power of the old Mitäwûk. It consists of a woven bag, which is shown, apparently empty, to the members in the lodge. Suddenly two loons, mink, snakes, or dolls are made to appear and protrude their heads. Hoffman (p. 97) gives an excellent account of this procedure. He says:

"During a short interval of smoking, in which most of the medicine men participated, one man retired to arrange for the exhibition of his trick. In a few moments he returned to the western entrance of the inclosure, and stood there for an instant until a confederate could approach him to assist. The performer held before him a red flannel bag which measured about 20 inches in width by 30 in depth. Along the top of the opening of the bag were attached fluffy white feathers. The upper corners were held by the hands so as to spread out the bag like a single piece of goods. Then taking the bag between his hands, he rolled it into a ball to show the beholders that there was nothing within. Again taking one of the upper corners in each hand, the performer held the bag once more before the face like a banner, and as he began to dance slowly forward along the southern side of the inclosure, his confederate preceded him, dancing backward, chanting with the performer, and making various gestures before the

bag. Presently two snake heads began to emerge from the top of the bag, and gradually became more and more exposed to view, until their bodies protruded perhaps 6 inches. Slowly the heads retreated into the bag, until the performers had turned at the eastern end of the inclosure and were approaching the group of chief medicine men, when the singing increased in tone and time, and the snakes again emerged, only to disappear in the bag by the time the performers arrived at the point of starting. The principal performer then doubled up the bag, put in the breast of his coat and left the *wikómik*, while the assistant returned to his seat.

“That the trick had made a profound impression on the audience was apparent, and silence reigned everywhere. Although seemingly complex, the whole construction of the interior of the bag became apparent as the performer reached a position between myself and the sunlight. The bag was not fully stretched out, and between the corners held by the thumb and forefinger of each hand was visible a strip of cloth or tape, to the middle of which were attached the ends of the stuffed snakes. These ends were only about 8 inches long, and as the tension upon the tape was lessened, the weight of the snakes’ bodies forced them down into the bag. The heads and necks emerged through loops, made of pieces of calico, just large enough for those members to slide through easily.”

Only three Menomini at the time this account was written (1913) possessed the trick with power to use it. They were Kesóapomesao, Ka'sikäo, and Judge Perote. Pitwäskûm, one of the writer's informants, who died early in the spring of the year named, could perform "the sacred amusement." Nämäkiu, long deceased, was famous for this.

16. "No'ko" is the abbreviation I have translated as "grandma." *No'komä* is the full form, which I have called "grandmother." Both are frequently used by the Menomini.

17. I have collected at least one such bag. The whistling is accomplished in some manner by expelling air through a bone tube in the throat of the otter-skin. There is said to be no living Menomini who can now perform this trick. There was a medicine, the power of which, taken with the bag, made it able to cry out.

18. See Skinner, *Anthropological Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, vol. XIII, p. 79, 1915.

19. See Skinner, *Social Life and Ceremonial Bundles of the Menomini Indians*, p. 64.

20. Before commencing, the informant cast tobacco on the fire and addressed the flames, calling the fire "brave hero" and "servant of the Powers Above," begging it to consume his sacrifice in their behalf. He then begged for the indulgence of all the Powers, inasmuch as he was about to speak of them for a good purpose, and, turning to me, he said, "What I am about to

tell you is sacred. The way in which I shall tell it is the form in which it is told in the *Mitäwin*. I must tell it word for word as it is told from generation to generation. I have no right to make any change whatsoever. Even this explanation is stereotyped, and I dare not omit it. There is another way of relating this story with more detail, but this is the form which we use in the *Mitäwin*."

21. The bead that is taken in the draft by the candidate when he is initiated into the medicine-lodge.

22. The cowrie shell contained in every medicine-bag and used during the shooting ceremonies of the lodge.

23. For the Ojibwa, Warren (pp. 78-79) gives an origin myth of the medicine-lodge in which there seem to be vague resemblances to this story.

24. Cf. the translation of an Ojibwa birch-bark *midé* record given by Kohl, p. 150 et seq.

25. Yet Mä'näbus was afterward persuaded to learn all the practices of evil, for the Powers assured him that not all of the people, his parents to come, would be good; some of them would form an alliance with the Powers Below, anyway, so he was cajoled into learning that side of the business so that he might impart the knowledge to his parents in order that the good could defend themselves from the wicked with their own weapons.

26. Four years in reality, said the informant, Thomas Hog.

27. My informant stated that in former times it was customary to build this small wigwam as an addition to the *mitäw'ikomik*, but the practice has long since been abandoned.

28. The bones used by the doctors in detecting and sucking out disease.

29. A tobacco sacrifice to the Powers Below is always made by burying the offering in contradistinction to burning it for the Powers Above.

30. These black *megisê* are called "*opec megisê*" and are little sea-shells, not cowries like *konä-pämik*, the *megisê* used in the first initiation.

31. See Skinner, op. cit., p. 73.

32. *Wakanda iînga*; perhaps suggested by a biblical parallel.

33. An Iowa metaphor for the haze of pleasant days.

34. Though the four original band leaders were of both sexes, now only men are taken. Women, however, freely belong to the lodge, though never acting as officers.

35. A symbolic reference to the feasts in honor of Wakanda and Mother Earth held in the lodge.

36. It could not be learned that the fireplace is of any practical use. The "road in the lodge" is the course followed by the members during the rites.

37. It is always customary for members to dis-

parage the society when referring to it, for the purpose of showing humility.

38. Among the Winnebago, according to Radin, p. 151, the women are exempt from this duty.

39. This dividing into two parties and then trotting back to the lodge is not clear to me. I think that what my informants meant was not an actual physical division of the members, but that the east and north bands sided together in shooting against the west and south. This is borne out by the accompanying diagram (fig. 9), copied from one made by Joe Springer, in which it will be observed that the performers are all in a continuous chain.

40. This entitled the leader to boast: "So-and-so did this [mentioning the deed] for me, so I did what he achieved."

41. See Skinner, Societies of the Iowa, Kansa, and Ponca Indians, *Anthropological Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, xi, no. IX, 1915, p. 689.

42. Invitation sticks are little dogwood twigs, peeled and shaved, about six inches in length. The leader of the band which assumes the role of host, and which will occupy the east end of the lodge, *pro tempore*, sends out, by messengers, a bundle of these sticks to each of the other three band leaders. In each bundle there is one stick for every member of that leader's band. These are in turn sent to the individuals by a messenger dispatched by their band leader. The messenger

says nothing, but delivers the stock, the meaning of which is known.

43. The Iowa terms are *Uxmedi*, *Bihidē*, *Ore-kürehuhi*, and *Biaxexu*.

44. There are several kinds of *unktehi*, some of which are horned snakes. Jingling Cloud, however, specified that this was a four-footed, long-tailed monster with shiny horns, somewhat resembling a buffalo. Neither this monster nor its mate were buffalo color, but their heads were white like snow. I suspect them of being related to the "underneath panther spirit" of the Menomini and Ojibwa, and the "water spirit" of the Winnebago.

45. It will be noted that the placing of the shell in the body of the candidate is one of the important episodes in the initiation ceremony of the Menomini. This rite is supposed among them to be in imitation of placing the shell in the body of Mä'näbus, as told in the origin myth of the society.

46. While these ten rules suggest Christian influence, the writer is informed that something similar is known to the Sauk of Oklahoma.

47. *Minnesota Historical Collections*, vol. I, "Dakota Land and Dakota Life," by E. D. Neill, quotation from the *Dakota Friend*, pp. 269-271.

48. The Tree Dweller is a spirit of human form who, as his name implies, lives in a tree. He is a very important little hunting god. It is said that whenever any bird flies over his residence, it is

killed by the Tree Dweller's power and falls down into the hollow stump where the being lives. Even thunderbirds are sometimes over-powered by him. Jingling-cloud's grandmother has a sacred wooden image of this elf. Pl. xxv.

49. Also known to the Menomini under the name of *pa'pewin*, and done by them to impress candidates with the power of the members.

50. I have used the Menomini terms, which are, however, intelligible to the Bungi.

51. George Beatty alone, all others to the contrary, declares there are five degrees.

52. It is surmised that it was carried because of the owner's supernatural relations with the buffalo. The old man's name was Piziki, or Buffalo,

53. Obtained from Mrs John Shawano, an Ojibwa married among the Potawatomi at Carter's Siding, Wisconsin. It is claimed by Indians of the Ottawa, Potawatomi, Menomini, and Ojibwa tribes whom the writer has questioned, that their Medicine Lodge myths do not differ.

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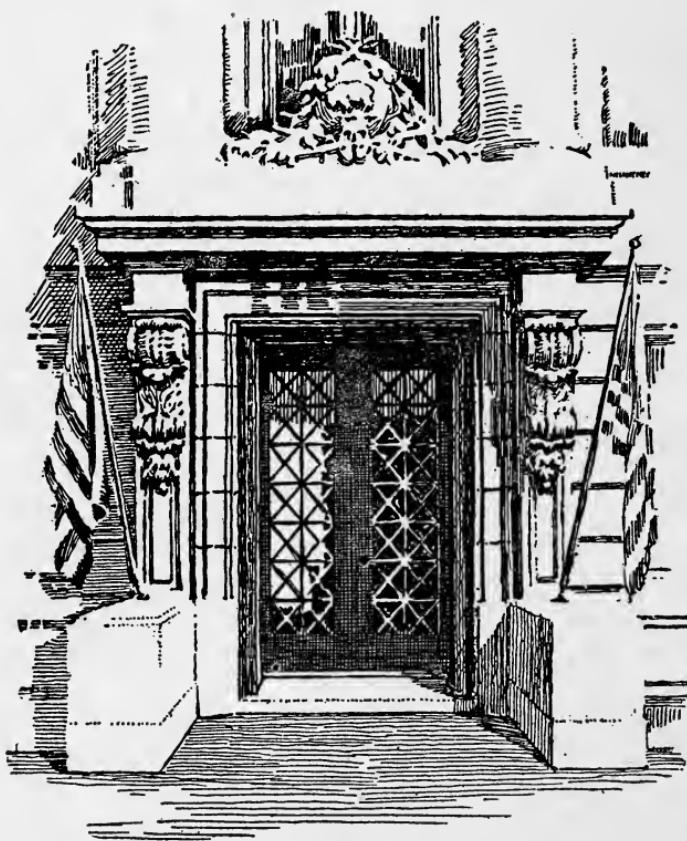








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